

VANDER ZALM
FACES HIS DAY OF
RECKONING

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When A Nation Breaks

Soviet Separatists
Splinter The Union

Can Mikhail
Gorbachev Survive?



Rub shoulders with Royalty.



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CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE APRIL 1 1991 VOL. 104 NO. 13

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COVER

BREAKING A NATION

In the first referendum in Soviet history, 77 per cent voted for some sort of national union. Still, the result left President Mikhail Gorbachev publicly isolated. Key republics such as Russia and Ukraine asked questions to the ballot in a successful attempt to demonstrate support for more autonomy, and six other independence-minded republics boycotted the historic vote. — 26

CANADA

VANDER ZALM'S DAY OF RECKONING

With his business affairs under intense investigation, British Columbia's Bantelquist Social Credit premier, William Vander Zalm, remained defiant. Last week, he complained of Nam-style persecution—and hinted that he was the victim of a well-organized plot aimed at discrediting him. — 14



SPORTS

SAY IT AIN'T SO, BO

Bo Jackson's doctors disclosed last week that his injuries might permanently ending the versatile athlete. The Kansas City Royals cut him from the team. But the all-star outfielder vowed to return next year, although the extent of his injuries appeared to threaten his brilliant career. — 41

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LETTERS

LEARNING TO LOVE THE GST

Finance Minister Michael Wilson's plan to apply net revenue against the national debt has been received by the media as some kind of godsend ("A budget for healing a headless Canada," *Column*, Dave Francis, March 11). In fact, it is just another gimmick. As long as total expenditures exceed total revenues, the debt will increase. Only a determined effort to raise, say, 30 per cent of the federal public services and much of its necessary production will accomplish this. *Paul F. Neale, Richmond, Que.*



Wilson, "just another gimmick"

Bruce Francis roared not with her attempts to defend the GST by defining what a "gimmick" is, it was defining the debt. What she does not say is just who ends up paying for this ruse. At all events, it is the average working person. But I don't see the term "working person" in close context. There are now only rich and poor in Canada; the Murray government has all but obliterated the middle class. Francis acknowledges that Canadians are tired of governments and taxes. I would suggest that this is because most people see the two as being synonymous. Perhaps of this and others like her left their very towers and mingled with the average citizen more frequently. They would comprehend this reality. *Daniel Philpott, Richmond, B.C.*

No one can quarrel with our government's intention of extracting the profits from the car to pay off a portion of our bloodcurdling national debt. One must wonder, though, how these wonderful profits are to be generated by a tax that has been taxed as being revenue neutral. *Paul G. Menck, Carleton, B.C.*

A 'SOPHISTICATED' INDUSTRY

In your article "Boozing the trade winds" (*Cover*, March 18), Tom Whelan (John Cronin in *Canada's* 40 series) "blows of the auto-parts work in Canada) is not highly skilled." In fact, as we have explained to Cronin, our industry is at the vanguard of sophisticated skills and technological developments. Secondly, the article suggests that I have declined the virtually all of our company's sales are considering investing in Mexico. This was true of the 18 firms which participated in our trade mission to Mexico in January, not of our entire 170-strong membership.

Steve Van Nieuwen, President, Automotive Parts Manufacturers Association of Canada, Toronto

making Newman since the mid-1960s, I come to expect a distinctive cadence in syntax and vocabulary. Post-like allusions such as "Zalmavox, covering Mother Teresa to a political metaphor and closing the history with a left-wing major scribble to Don Dewart is to deconstructive postmodernist perfections. Is it true that Polkinghorne is writing the definitive history of Bargaus Harvold?"

Rev. Lawrence Pardy, Mississauga, Ont.

CRYING FOUL

After reading Allan Polkinghorne's "A Strange Future for P" (*Column*, March 18), I am reminded that Canada as a nation is essentially ungrateful, especially when it comes to unwanted minorities that normally go unseen. As for the tragic victims of the Communist experiments, I suppose that they are an expendable item to Canadians. Other-wise citizens would get off their backsides and scream foul like Polkinghorne's anti-jazz commission is dispensed.

Medford Joe, Toronto

Letters are edited and may be condensed. Writers should supply names, addresses and telephone numbers. Manuscripts should be sent to the Editor, *Maclean's*, 100 Avenue Road, Toronto, Ont. M5R 1A7.

MUDDIED AND FUZZIFIED

In the interests of editorial epidemiology, the first signs of contagious Post-ism should be reported for early, corrective intervention. Or did some production goblins switch copy on Peter G. Newman's *Business Week* ("Revenge of the Zalmavox," March 18P). After

PASSAGES

SUSPENDED: The Toronto trial of former Liberal fund-raiser Patricia Starr, 46, after she was convicted of six charges of violating Ontario's Election Finances Act, will end April 30, following a procedural challenge that defence lawyer Peter West wants should nullify all the charges. West bases his claim on a similar case that a *Hinches* judge threw out of court as March 15. The trial resumed. Starr faces fines of up to \$1,000 for each conviction, based on political contributions she made as head of the National Council of Jewish Women (Toronto branch), a charitable organization. Starr was at the centre of a 1994 bond-breaking scandal that shook then-Premier David Peterson's government.



Starr faces fines of up to \$1,000 for each conviction.

APPOINTED: Roy McMurtry, 36, associate chief justice of the Ontario Court of Justice, the No. 2 job in the province's judicial system, by federal Justice Minister Kim Campbell. McMurtry was attorney general at Ontario's Conservative government from 1975 to 1986, when he became Canada's high commissioner to London. Since his return in 1986, he has been in private practice.

DIED: Pauline Turner, 93, widow of British diver and general George Turner, in a Paris hospital. After her husband's death in 1987, she moved to France to help her son Jean with L'Ardèche, a network of communities for the mentally handicapped.

PURCHASED: By Wayne Gretzky and Bruce McNall, Gretzky's home and busi-

ness interest, a baseball club for a record \$500,000, at a New York City auction. The card, despatched Hall of Fame shortstop Harmon Killebrew, in one of a series issued by tobacco producers in 1969 and 1970. Only 40 are known to still exist.

NAMED: Mark Phillips, 43, estranged husband of Princess Anne, in a ceremony not launched by Heather Tonkin of New Zealand. Tonkin says that Phillips is the father of her daughter Freckley, 6. Phillips says that he will confirm the claim, married Princess Anne in 1973. They separated in August 1988.

DIED: Dave Gaud, 57, a founding member of the 1960s folk-song group the Kingston Trio, of lymphoma, at his Bedford, N.H., home.



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LETTERS

A 'COLONIALIST MENTALITY'

Barbara Amiel's March 4 column ("Soldiers is not a human being") reminds me of the kind of imperialist attitudes that I thought were the province of our cousins to the south. Obviously not. I do not support Saddam Hussein, but Amiel's assertion that "countries like Iraq are not children's countries in the ordinary sense of the word" destroys her credibility with as much subtlety as a Soul music. I might remind Amiel that it was this same colonialist mentality, enacted as foreign policy, that created Hussein, and that the policies of the United States and Britain have created the tinderbox that is the political maelstrom of the Middle East.

Terri Murray,
Toronto

Erno, Barbara Amiel. Finally here I read anything so accurate and insightful about the situation in the Middle East.

Susan Neilson,
Chesley-Leslie, Que

In Marlowe's and elsewhere, Barbara Amiel has championed the "civility and prosperity" that result from First World control of global energy and resources. The many places and

people that she disapproves of are simply those that threaten her lifestyle. That lifestyle, shared by so many of us in Canada, is possible only because of our access to what lies in, or under, other people's lands—including the huge oil reserves of the Middle East. "Soldiers is not a human being" because he isn't. He takes what has already been taken by us.

Brian Turner,
Victoria

I was pained by Barbara Amiel's contention that Saddam Hussein is not a human being "in any normal sense of the word." It is useful to dehumanize your enemy, to deprive him of personal identity, because it is easier to fight and kill abstractly. However, to go one step further, to dehumanize Iraq—as Amiel has done—signifies a twisted moral lapse. It is this perversion that underlies the rationale for slavery, the bombing of civilians, genocide and so on. As such, it is a loathsome attitude.

Gisela Gibson,
Toronto

Of your two comedians, I prefer Allen Fotheringham to Amiel. Path, kidding, is serious Amiel, across Iraq got to be kidding. People in "civilized" countries do get letters hit by the civilians, do they not? Wounded Knee, Denver City, the infamous, the latest "mass of innocent" example, Amiel likes parallels like this and Iraq. How about Iraq and Northern Ire-

land for one-party governments? Or Northern Ireland and Russia for arbitrary boundaries and protection of privileged? Many southern Irish politicians proved themselves as "internationalists," as did some of Amiel's leaders. Northern Ireland must lose the best of the neo-British Empire. But one part of Ireland, to paraphrase Amiel, will always fight for freedom, day by day. And the goal is not dictatorship.

Stephen M. Cragg,
Edmonton, Alta.

SHOCKED BY THE RACKLOG

I almost fainted when I read "A refugee lives!" (Canada, March 6). How can a government call itself sensible and caring when it can stack up 85,000 refugees waiting for admission? You report how a young woman waiting for a work permit is collecting \$500 monthly—this lady has been doing it for 17 months. Where does all the money come from, and why on earth would any country pay almost \$500 a month to keep refugees in limbo? Would it not make more sense to have refugees apply in writing and stay in their own country until they are processed? If they land on our doorstep, they should be returned immediately. With a \$20-billion deficit, this country could put the money spent on payments to refugees to rest and—such as giving the money to people who are out of work due to free trade.

Valerie A. Grieskies,
Campbellville, Ont.

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OPENING NOTES

Svend Robinson defends gay activists, James Durrell makes a play for a team, and John Kim sweeps South Korea

NAMING NAMES IN OTTAWA

Ottawa's underground homosexuals will be checking the bells on their closets now that Queer Nation has come to town. The U.S.-based radical gay rights group, which has 37 chapters around the world, including ones in Toronto, Vancouver and Montreal, has opened the capital. The group is dedicated to fighting homophobia and developing positive gay role models. But their methods have alarmed some politicians who prefer to keep their sexual orientation to themselves. The Ottawa chapter has announced plans to stage public displays of kissing called "Queer-ins," but their most controversial tactic,



Gay activists at a "Queer-in"

known as "outing," involves publicly naming prominent people whom they believe to be homosexuals—and hypocrites. Said James Woods, a member of the Ottawa chapter: "A person can't fight homophobia from inside the closet." He added: "We don't expect to use [outing], but we're saying 'You better not be hypocritical or we will be there.'" nor as Svend Robinson revealed his homosexuality in February, 1988. He says that his conviction nine months later by voters in his Brampton, B.C., riding is proof that homosexuals can succeed in public life. But he added that although he has reservations about Queer Nation's practice of outing, he does sympathize. Said Robinson: "If a person who is closeted attacks gays and lesbians, he has forfeited his right to privacy." A motion movie into the bedrooms of the stars.

A rose by any other name

Recent news reports have cast shadows on the future of the new NHL expansion franchise for the Ottawa Senators. Terence Levenson Ltd., must come up with a first instalment of \$26 million by June 15. As well, the team must build a new arena to play at. And now keeping its assets could cost money. Ottawa's ice-track owner, Guy Gosselin says that his family has asked the rights to the name for 60 years. Said Gosselin: "When Terence first announced that they were going after a franchise, they signed an agreement with me stipulating that if they were successful, they would talk to us about compensation for the use of the name." Gosselin has asked for price: \$1 million, to be divided to the University of Ottawa, the Ottawa Lawyers for Corporate and Territorial Rights and the Ottawa Senators. We're going to play hockey "Optimism said the Senators might suggest.



Marshall opposes register expansion

mayor James Durrell insists that getting stands in the way of the Senators' going overseas next season by mid-December. Said Durrell: "We're going to be there. We're going to play hockey." Optimism said the Senators might suggest.

A SWEEPING NEW IDEA

Businessman John Kim of London, Ont., says that he is determined to introduce curling to his native South Korea. But Kim, who plans to pack a curling broom on his next business trip to Seoul, admits that he has his work cut out for him. Few Koreans have even heard of the game. "Most people don't see its potential," he said. Still, he is anxious to promote the game as a rich man's sport. Said Kim: "It will spread the wildlife because they'll say, 'I want to belong to that kind of society. I don't want to be left out.'" Kim can only hope to sweep Koreans off their feet.

FLUSHED WITH SUCCESS

John Munro, a senior vice-president at Calgary-based Grosbeak Lanes of Canada Ltd., has given new meaning to the old saying that Queer Nation is coming by sitting in the waiters' room of his company's bar. Munro took the highly unusual action after he calls for better customer service without success. As a result, he announced that he would give waiters managers only as long as he would before dropping by for candle-lit meals in their box. Said Munro: "I didn't want to send a message of anything worse."

Treble game show



Munro: the test of a waiters' room

And earlier this month, Munro appeared on the KIC TV game show To Tell the Truth with Canadian host Alex Treble. Munro staged a studio contest, who had to guess his true identity, by pretending to be a Japanese associate at a California men's store. For his troubles, he got \$1,150 and a free weekend in Hollywood. Said Munro, who credits the Japanese philosophy of "Kaizen"—or "incremental improvement"—for his success: "You would have to be an idiot not to believe in customer service." Satisfaction for the waiters.

Cheap seats

Rumour Taps is finally getting her just deserts. Last September, Air Canada bumped the Vancouver-based self-government coordinator of the United Native Nations from an Ottawa-Vancouver flight and gave her seat to Senator Pat Carney. Taps took her case to the Canadian Human Rights Commission, which obtained an out-of-court settlement that will give her a ticket to anywhere in the world that Air Canada flies. Taps told Markham a that she is happy with the outcome. "They were very gracious about the whole thing," Taps said. She added: "The ticket wasn't the important part. I felt that the respect on both Pat Carney and Air Canada was painful enough." But Taps told Markham a that Carney has never called her to discuss the incident. And although she stopped short of accusing the airline of discrimination, Taps declared: "They went out of their way for Pat Carney. They certainly didn't go out of their way for me." Said Air Canada spokesman Denis Costant: "It was our mistake, and therefore we will give more than normal compensation."

Carney: no discussion

Added Taps, who says that she has not yet decided what to do with the ticket: "I didn't want to say my whole life to be known as the lady who got bumped," but that's the way it's turning out." Still, it is better than most people get for their delayed 15 minutes of time.

A BEST-SELLING BLUNDER

Author David Halliburton says that his initial manuscript for The Next Century, his runaway best-selling best-seller, was turned down by his intended publisher, Harcourt, a Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist, recently revealed that White Books of Knoxville, Tenn., considered his manuscript for too long. "My sense is that they didn't know what they wanted," he said. Halliburton ended up taking the book to William Morrow & Co. Inc., its rival publisher. Anthony Kline, the executive editor of White Books, defended the company's rejection of The Next Century, an impressionistic account of the United States. Said Kline: "It was just not ready for publication by our standards." A clear case of missed opportunity.

WEATHERING A DRY SPELL

Marion O'Connor, the mayor of San Diego, is a hot writer with her constituents. Despite the fact that California is in its 15th drought year, O'Connor refuses to follow the example of most other cities in the state and implement water rationing. Instead, she advocates voluntary conservation. Indeed, she has water consumption at her home by 12 a per cent last year. Still, city water records show that it required an average 2,800 gallons daily to meet the needs of the city's 1.5 million residents. That is nearly 30 times what the average resident uses.

Paul Downey, a spokesman for the city, said that the important thing is that the mayor has set a good example. Said Downey: "It's somebody who is conscientious about water. We would have no problem."

And a few more drops in the bucket.

Way off the base

Armed with the best of intentions, the officers of Pebblebrook, Ont., set about last week to welcome Canadian forces returning from the Persian Gulf. The troops were expected to pass through town on their way to a base in Petawawa, just 15 km away. More than 100 well-wishers showed up under eight giant arches of 1,000 yellow balloons. But nobody told the military. As a result, the homecoming troops took a different route and missed Pebblebrook completely. Said embarrassed Mayor Terence McCann: "Somebody got it wrong." It is the thought that counts.



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COLUMN



Hip hip hooray for Pax Americana

BY BARBARA AMIEL

The eighth wonder of the world is the strength of anti-American feelings, varied most noticeably by the opinion makers of those countries who have most benefited from American generosity. Europeans, who had not been for America's role in the Second World War might well all be under the German yoke, are quick to criticize U.S. influence. The only people who dislike the Americans more than the recipients of American generosity are some Americans themselves.

U.S. under Fred Brunning, for one, in his March 18 column for Maclean's, described America's leadership of the multinational coalition in the Gulf as an action that "registered a lot of what is most troubling about our Yankee heritage. We pushed the action of decency generosity and fair play... and jeopardized our sense of self-respect, too.... We'll beware. Pax Americana is likely to be long on the Americas, short on the rest. Don't let it on us." Mr. Brunning's view was augmented by his (often correct) observation that as a year's time, most Americans won't remember why they were fighting in the Gulf at all.

But someone will soon-often are motivated by self-interest, dark, greedy, that someone's interest brings a moral compass. Stability in the Middle East is in the self-interest of the industrial world, which is hostage to the fact that a relatively small number of people could threaten the world over a rather large amount of the world's oil. The self-interest of the Western world may be to protect its impetuousness. So on his way to buying nuclear weapons Saddam Hussein was a peace party of goods when he was giving his own people, he became a threat to our self-interest when he began sending other countries and threatening to hold us all to ransom.

Pax Americana may well be long on Americans, which is very clearly in the self-interest of all of us. The United States is unique—it is the world's only nation based on the idea of individual liberty. Most nations in Africa and the

If any nation is to impose peace on the world, can one name a more worthy occupier of the role than America?

subcontinent of India have a sorry record of combining different races and nations within a single culture—often Canada at the moment is a pretty sorry sight in that regard. America has been an astonishing success, even overcoming the blight of slavery. Whatever its shortcomings, it has managed to create a society which quickly assumes guilt about its past and manages to work towards individual liberty without self-interest, dark, greedy, that someone's interest brings a moral compass. Stability in the Middle East is in the self-interest of the industrial world, which is hostage to the fact that a relatively small number of people could threaten the world over a rather large amount of the world's oil. The self-interest of the Western world may be to protect its impetuousness. So on his way to buying nuclear weapons Saddam Hussein was a peace party of goods when he was giving his own people, he became a threat to our self-interest when he began sending other countries and threatening to hold us all to ransom.

If any nation is to impose peace on the world, can one name a more worthy occupier of the role than America? As for Brunning's further assumption that America is responsible for the Khobar Bunker, I suggest he direct his ire to the original financiers of that bunch of thugs, the Chinese. Would Mr. Brunning prefer a Pax China?

Or would he prefer a Pax Europe? Here in Europe we are currently right and wrong about that particular prospect. As the reality of America pulling out of Europe looms, conspicuous growth in Paris and London. The Gulf War showed us that progress can take an unexpected form. The Germans, street on demonstrating the world with

means rather than the Luftwaffe, rally through the streets in cries of "Germany for peace!" and "No more war!" even as a bloody debate threatened their own interests. Who will demand against the most honest who decides to take up the current struggle for evil in the world? Not the two greatest beneficiaries of the brilliant strategy of the multinational forces in the Gulf, the Japanese and Germans, whose industrial machines need of stability. No, they would cheer pacifist slogans while we fought for their interests. Not a federal Europe which is an amalgam of so many different sorts of self-interest that the Belgians couldn't even manage to bring themselves to supply the coalition forces with their own. Even while Brunning's Prime Minister John Major is pushing about a new Europe, the question "Would you want your family to be protected by the French and Walloons or Yankies and southerners?" has a certain resonance for those of us who do enough to remember what we and our children are like.

American inspired violence as a problem, of course, because Santopaga was right and one ought to learn from history. All the same, a short historical memory has benefits, particularly when it forgets grudge. America largely very fast that Germany and Japan were its great enemies. Europe has not. A battle is raging in Europe now, and a great deal of it is based on historical memory. The French dislike the Germans not so much and fear their own such men, or drive towards the east, that focus their cultural rebellion towards an alliance with the Russians. The Czechs are outraged about what Europe would do in the face of a real security threat, and are reacting very strongly the idea that NATO could be replaced by a common European defense policy. The very idea that Europe could have a common defense policy is a joke. The Germans, with their most romantic interests in Libya and the Middle East and the corrupt legacy of former prime minister Andreas Papandreu, are light-years away from sharing the values and interests of the British. The French always see their national interests very clearly, but tend to act only when everybody else has been led. They're outraged about the Gulf, but only after having anticipated to deal the multinational coalition with last-minute trips to Saddam.

A common defense policy must first be predicated on a common foreign policy, and a common European foreign policy is nowhere in sight, as the Gulf crisis proves. Indeed all the scurrying about over this new Europe is a growing understanding that eventually the whole relief of a politically united Greater Europe will collapse. As a trading bloc, it may well survive. But when all is said and done, the spirit of European cultural isolation, there are few Americans about who we want to impose the New World Order. The Americans are not, absolutely, absolutely despised. Their favorite story turned out to be Ronald Reagan, such a first-worlder magnificence like Yves Montand. But while you sit at the computer with their backs turned, you know your single bottle of water will still be there. And when peace comes, they go home—and pull out their wallets.

DAY OF RECKONING

B.C.'S PREMIER AWAITS A CRUCIAL REPORT AFTER AN INVESTIGATION OF HIS PRIVATE REAL ESTATE DEALINGS

The room, at times bordering on hysteria, left little room for interruption. For 25 minutes, in two edited, tape-recorded telephone conversations released to reporters last week, Vancouver real estate agent Faye Leung blasted B.C. Premier Wilton Vander Zalm over the Sept. 7 sale of Fantasy Gardens, Vander Zalm's family-owned hotel (some park south of Vancouver, Leung, who had negotiated the \$14-million sale to Taiwanese billionaire Tsa Yu, complained bitterly about not being paid and about incomplete details of the deal. Vander Zalm's responses during those conversations, allegedly held early last December, left scant doubt that he had been intimately involved in the Fantasy Gardens sale—contrary to his assertions that his wife, Liffana, had handled the details. Most damaging, however, were exchanges relating to Leung's allegations that Vander Zalm was to share commissions for the sale of land adjacent to Fantasy Gardens to Tsa Yu—and that he had already received a \$20,000 (\$2.5 cash advance in \$500 bills. "Well, the \$20,000 cash I've earned over the year, I was supposed to hold it to trust," an apologetic Leung said on the tape. Replied the premier, who was not aware that he was being taped: "Oh, that's to trust. No problem."

In British Columbia, the Real Estate Act prohibits anyone other than real estate agents from inducing commissions. And last week, Attorney General Russell Prager confirmed that the RCMP's commercial-crime unit, overseen by a special prosecutor appointed by the provincial attorney general's office, was investigating Leung's allegations. Prager said that the prosecutor was also reviewing unreported income tax charges relating to Fantasy Gardens. Meanwhile, B.C. chief-of-interview commissioner Edward Hughes was completing an investigation of Vander Zalm's involvement in



Vander Zalm facing an RCMP investigation and a conflict-of-interest

the Fantasy Gardens sale and was scheduled to deliver his report on April 1. As for pressure on Vander Zalm himself, most B.C. media publicly stood by the beleaguered premier. But some prominent party members openly dissented. "It is no longer a question of whether he is guilty or innocent of anything," said former treasurer minister Melville Goveia, who resigned his post in early March after Vander Zalm refused to step aside during the Hughes investigation. "He has become a political liability, period."

Indeed, the B.C. media are no longer the political force that Vander Zalm led in an overwhelming victory over the Liberals in 1986, provincial elections. Since then, a string of by-election losses to the opposition has reduced the B.C. government's majority in the 49-seat legislature to 43, compared with the NDP's 26 seats. Now

with another election due to be called by this fall, Vander Zalm's party faces the New Democratic Party by up to 15 percentage points in public opinion polls. And since last fall, four B.C. candidates announced to contest the next election, withdrawn after the leadership race.

The continuing storm of controversy surrounding the premier has clearly left the government in disarray. On March 11, following a seven-month adjournment, the legislature resumed sitting—with its debates interrupted for the first time in B.C. history. Last Friday's session endured almost two weeks of tough NDP questioning over Vander Zalm's activities, the government's muddy denial of the current session. "This was supposed to be a session in which they would double everybody's trust and competence," declared NDP house leader Mark Rose. "Just the opposite has come out of the establishment."

Meanwhile, Vander Zalm's modest mood shifted weeks—and his office confining state secrets to the media—provided evidence of the personal stress he faced. Early in the week, down and uncharacteristically downcast, he changed his arrival to bring in a flight suit. Said Vander Zalm, a Bismarck, Idaho, who left his native Idaho as a child in 1947—two years after the fall of Adolf Hitler's Third Reich. "I guess we got away from opposition, and this is all very reminiscent of Nazi Germany. For people in rest of label someone pretty it's a goodly value."

By the next day, though, the premier had regained his customary buoyancy. Cheerful and smiling, he talked to reporters about his government's next budget—and even joked

about calling a spring election. Then, the following day, he hinted that he was the victim of a plot to discredit him. But the premier: "I don't have a clue about who's doing what—but it's terribly well organized."

Contrary to what Vander Zalm's businessmen started only in his premiership. Only days after his ouster on Aug. 6, 1986, the B.C. government approved a rezoning application for 90 acres of the Fantasy Gardens site. That move raised the value of that portion of land to \$4.9 million from \$400,000—and brought levels of outrage from opposition politicians over alleged conflict of interest.

But that scandal just beside the square that followed last September's election. For one thing, Vander Zalm had repeatedly insisted that his wife held the majority of shares in the 21-acre tourist attraction, which has religious exhibits,



Leung taped conversations

arranged for meetings with Government Ministers, regarding the rezoning of a site in British Columbia or the takeover of an ex-military base. "Such a meeting subsequently took place on Sept. 6."

Vander Zalm himself referred those matters to conflict-of-interest commissioners Hughes on Feb. 24. Now, according to Secret MIA, the premier has agreed to a caucus demand for a vote to discuss his future within 32 hours of the release of Hughes's findings. Only then will B.C. residents be able to assess the warning delivered by Leung to Vander Zalm during one of their taped conversations. "You want to know?" she asked. "You are going to have plenty time."

FEETER KUFFELER with JOHN FISHER in Victoria

National Notes

FETAL RIGHTS REJECTED

The Supreme Court of Canada ruled that a fetus is not a legal person under the Criminal Code. Yet that finding, the high court said, did not free doctors and mothers, Mary Belland and Gloria Leung, cannot be convicted of criminal negligence in connection with the death of a baby during delivery in 1985.

NO SPECIAL FEE FOR SENATORS

House of Commons Speaker Jean Frenet rejected the Senate's (House) to award its members a \$123 bonus for every day that they attend sessions. Frenet said there were no parliamentary rules to cover the bonus but he would not be adding to the cost of salaries of \$54,000 and tax-shelter allowances of \$33,100.

ALL IN THE FAMILY

Liberal Ross Byrne, 28, easily won a provincial by-election in the Prince George-Burnaby riding of Fort Langley—a seat the Young's father, John, held for 12 years until his death from cancer in March, 1986. The victory leaves the Liberals with 30 of the province's 52 seats and the Conservatives with two.

CLOSED ON SUNDAY

New rounds of walk-outs Sunday closing in Ontario ended along with a provincial Court of Appeal decision upholding the constitutionality of the province's Retail Business Holidays Act. It overturned a ruling by the provincial Supreme Court last June that the legislation limited the religious freedom of store owners and shoppers who observe a holy day on days other than Sunday.

IT TO BE TRIED

The New South Wales Supreme Court found Anthony Dale Lutz, 50, fit to stand trial on three counts of first-degree murder originally laid 27 years ago. The charges followed the discovery of the bodies of Lutz's three young sons, Kevin and Arthur Rodney, and his half-sister, Anthony Jane Foster, in their Auburn, N.S.W., home. Police said to stand trial by reason of insanity in 1964, Lutz was confined until last December at a psychiatric hospital where he received nearly 500 shock treatments.

A CALL FOR JUSTICE

For the third straight year, Human Rights Chief Commissioner Maxwell Taylor's accusation to Parliament described the plight of aboriginal people as "confronting the most serious problems." Taylor also repeated his call for a royal commission on aboriginal issues.

In search of a deal

Consensus eludes the Quebec commission

When Prime Minister Jean Charest telephoned Premier Robert Bourassa, both men had reason for concern. Earlier that day, Wednesday, March 28, news reports had suggested that the 27 members of Quebec's commission on the Constitution had reached an agreement that Quebec should hold a referendum on independence as early as June of next year. That scenario appeared to leave little opening for Bourassa, Mulroney and other first ministers to have a package of reforms designed to keep Quebec in Canada. But in their conversation, Bourassa reassured Mulroney that whatever the commission recommended, his government would not board to follow its proposals to the letter. In return, Mulroney warned Bourassa that Quebec's increasingly hard-line position on radical constitutional change was provoking growing antagonism in the rest of the country. The depth of that antagonism quickly became evident. The following day, the federal Cabinet's Forum on Canada's Future tabled an advisory report that dovetailed increasing antagonism with Quebec's demands in the rest of Canada.

In the end, Quebec commission co-chairmen Michel Allard and Jean Gauthier declined to candidly state the consensus among their colleagues. The emerging agreement fell apart after Quebec Interprovincial Affairs Minister Joe Blais' candidly stated that the proposal contained could prompt a vote on independence by calling a referendum instead on renewed federalism. Hard-line separatists on the commission rejected that interpretation, noting that there would be a referendum to deal solely with independence. The group disbanded for the weekend with the dispute no closer to a resolution.

The deadlock in Quebec City capped a week of intense scrutiny on the constitutional front in Ottawa. A committee of the Ontario legislature recommended that Quebec gain special powers to protect French language and culture. In the same city, former prime minister

Pierre Trudeau rebuffed Mulroney as a "bomber's apprentice" for claiming that Quebec was left out of the constitutional patriation of 1982, which Trudeau engineered. In Ottawa, meanwhile, a parliamentary committee grilled Cabinet's Forum chairman Keith Spicer on his group's softened view—valued \$17.4-billion cut. Then, government House Leader Brian Mulroney hinted that Ottawa may create yet another constitutional committee to assess

any minority support it leaves the Parti Québécois members are working on one, too."

Meanwhile, the latest findings of the Canadian Forum, presented in a 10-page report entitled *What We Mean About So Far*, attempted to provide a glimpse of what the rest of Canada wants from Confederation. These first impressions, compiled from phone calls, letters and reports from discussion groups sponsored by the forum, showed Canadians to be on a distinctly wary mood. Few, Spicer asserted, support either special treatment for Quebec or actively welcoming the federal government to keep that province in Canada. "The majority," the report said, "accept Quebec's separation of responsibilities to retain a wide role as a potential treatment for Quebec or possibly damage Canada's capacity to address national issues."

According to Spicer, Canadian's palgust on Mulroney, who has accelerated transforming some federal powers to the provinces, was more mixed. Spicer said that many critics to the forum's hottest demand—the right to inspect the Prime Minister—Ottawa were even more hostile. Indeed, Spicer "is usually shocked by the fact that there is all or a different method of execution."

Critics on the committee looking at the forum's spending record Spicer of decreasing little that is new, indeed, like Québec's Jean Lapierre, for one, accused Spicer of releasing the document to distract attention from the forum's expenses. But Spicer brushed aside these accusations, noting, "We can not bring enough to the public's attention. I assure you. You have seen it at work." Instead, Spicer expressed the hope that, with the federal government's policy, Quebecers, who have largely ignored the forum to date, might be more willing to discuss their future with other Canadians. Even some critics, Spicer said, should "begin to think about solutions" with the rest of Canada. He added, "The forum offers them a magnificent chance to do just that."

Clearly, the chairman of the Ottawa's Forum felt the persons taking part in the forum, even as the towns of Quebec and other Canadians seem to be drifting further towards irreconcilable differences. But with the clock ticking towards Quebec's plans for a referendum one day or another by the fall of next year, the time for such half-truths and contradictions—was rapidly running out.

NANCY WOOD in Ottawa



Spicer's impatience with Quebec's demands in the rest of Canada

Death in a quiet mall

A tragic shooting reopens the gun debate

It was the kind of extreme violence that most Canadians have come to associate with the mean streets of New York City, Los Angeles or Detroit. And it prompted an immediate demand for tougher national gun laws. At 9:00 p.m. on March 19, Calgary police answered a caller's report of a civilian being overpowered and shot at the Marlborough Mall, a random stop-and-shop center in the northeast corner of the city. Moments later, officers arriving at the abandoned parking lot outside a 24-hour Mac's food-convenience store discovered a grisly scene—the

victim in hospital for fatal cuts caused by firing scraps of glass during the attack. "I had one leg in the car and I was about to sit down when the other car hit us," said Mulroney, speaking through an interpreter. "The crash knocked me between the seats and I hit my head on the door handle."

After the shooting, Calgary police initially identified the murder weapon as an automatic rifle—an illegal firearm in Canada. Later, they declined to comment on the gun, except to describe it as an assault rifle. Semi-automatic versions of most weapons—requiring a sepa-



Calgary shooting victim: a workman, a rapid burst of gunfire, and three people left dead

rate trigger pull for each shot—may be purchased legally in Canada. And inquiries about the possible origins of the murder weapon led reporters to Thiery Mallory, a gun shop in northeastern Calgary, whose customer admitted Robert Prussie confessed to Mulroney that the store had sold a Chinese-made semi-automatic version of the Russian-designed AK-47 assault rifle a week before the shooting.

Prussie insisted that Thiery Mallory had followed the requirements of federal gun-control laws at its sale of the weapon. The buyer, he recalled, presented the store with a valid firearms acquisition certificate (FAC) approved by city police. "Calgary police check people out," said Prussie. "A lot of cost get FACs, which are required for all shotgun or rifle purchases." But at week's end, Calgary police were still declining to comment on whether a certificate had been issued in Delgi Dely's case—to confirm whether the weapon purchased at Thiery Mallory was the one used in the shooting.

In Ottawa, legislation that would further tighten restrictions on the purchase of similar semi-automatic weapons lagged down last month, when an all-party committee shelved over proposed amendments. The proposed bill would have increased the penalty for anyone found guilty of converting a semi-automatic rifle to fully automatic fire—in which a single pull of the trigger can empty the entire magazine. Still, it would have permitted the continued sale of unconverted semi-automatic weapons like the Chinese-made AK-47. In response, the Commons committee agreed a total ban on the import and sale of specified military-style weapons—including the AK-47 and the Israeli-made T-12. The bill is expected to be when Parliament resumes this week. But following the tragic shooting in Calgary, Justice Minister Jean Campbell told reporters that the plan to reintroduce stiffer gun-control legislation in the next session.

She can expect support in that endeavor

from Calgary at least. For his part, city Police Chief Gerry Barthelet said that he would reserve his push for stronger gun controls. And Alberta Solicitor General R. A. (Dick) Fowler, arguing that tougher gun laws might have prevented the tragic murder, urged Calgary to petition Parliament for a national ban on semi-automatic weapons. Declared Fowler, "These are weapons of war and should not be in the hands of citizens under any circumstances. The danger is evident from what happened—there had been a single-shot weapon, it is entirely possible there would not be three people dead today." But as the debate over legislation continued and police searched for the suspect, friends of the slain Michael Shermans turned to another task. They prepared a fund to provide for his pregnant widow, Patricia, their four-year-old daughter, Suzanne, and nine-month-old son, Samuel.

JERRY ROBB in Calgary



Stranded fisheries office in Port aux Basques, not enough work to earn it

Budgets by Scrooge

Newfoundland is setting a stern trend

In the rugged fishing village of Port aux Basques, on Newfoundland's southwestern coast, the news from St. John's struck like an avalanche. Life was quiet. On March 7, Newfoundland's out-of-control Liberal government tabled a budget that authorized sweeping cuts to provincial services in order to stave off a ballooning deficit. Since then, the 1,680 residents of Port aux Basques have been adding to the rest of the community—with increasing bitterness and anger. The most painful loss, 31 jobs, came from the budget of the Dr. Charles L. Legros Health Centre, the only hospital serving the 13,800 people who live within 80 km of Port aux Basques. The cut will force the hospital to lay off up to 40 of its 120 staff and cancel some programs—including medical services that only go on general anesthesia. As a result, some patients will likely face a 250-km journey north to Corner Brook for major surgery and other services. That, prospect notwithstanding, Donald McNeil, 31, a Port aux Basques fish plant worker, is predictably angry. He says he is not going to be laid because of this "disaster."

The anger evident in Port aux Basques is mirrored elsewhere in the country's poorest province as well. In the past two weeks, angry demonstrations have erupted in several centres as citizens expressed their outrage at a succession of economic blows that they blame on both the federal and provincial governments. In Port aux Basques itself, nearly two-thirds of the village's residents consider their businesses, both their children and of school, and paraded through the streets to protest the provincial budget. Then, last week, 100 angry people staged a strike at a local fish plant to show their fury over the shortage of work.

Newfoundland is not alone among the provinces in attacking budget deficits with austerity measures. Last week Quebec's Liberal government announced a wage freeze for its 490,000 unionized employees, and massive layoffs may be in store when the finance minister of New Brunswick, Manitoba and Quebec present their budgets in the coming weeks. The province claims that they have to choose not to attack the spending with boldness and deep-strategy. They say that the econ-

omy has not deeply into recession from corporate and personal income taxes—while increasing social welfare costs. As well, they point to a drop in expected transfers of money from Ottawa as the federal government tumbles as a deflator. Scott Winston Baker, president of Newfoundland's Treasury Board, "We are getting \$185 million less in transfer payments than we had originally expected from the federal government."

In fact, Newfoundland's Finance Minister Robert Kitchen stated, nearly \$171 million in planned spending from his budget earlier this month in order to hold the projected operating deficit for the 1990-1992 fiscal year to \$23.9 million, compared with \$31.7 million for the year. But the accomplishment came at the cost of 9,500 full- and part-time government jobs—about one-eighth of the total number of provincial employees. That will only exacerbate the province's unemployment rate, which, at 18.5 per cent in February, is the worst in Canada.

Almost half of the jobs cancelled in the budget are to health care, but the budget also cuts grants to school boards, cut funds for community colleges and technical schools and reduced provincial grants to some municipalities—among them Conception Bay South, 20 km west of St. John's. As a result, said town clerk Maurice Harvey, Conception Bay South is one of many municipalities that are contemplating cuts in services. Said Harvey: "We are looking at cutting back to virtually all areas." Already, he added, the community has been forced to close its local hockey arena for this month.

But the layoffs have been particularly painful along the province's economically ravaged southwestern coast. Port aux Basques lost its largest employer four years ago, when it had closed its Newfoundland subsidiary, resulting in the loss of roughly 1,400 jobs in the vicinity. Since then, a dramatic decline in fish stocks—the result of poisons overfishing—has left most fishermen and fish-plant workers with three weeks of work in a year. As a result, few have worked enough in the past 12 months to qualify for unemployment benefits.

On March 12, local fishermen and plant workers demonstrated a federal fisheries office in the village to protest Ottawa's decision to close the local fishing season earlier this year. And last week's demonstration began when 100 unemployed fish-plant workers blockaded a government vehicle to prevent fish from being transported to processing plants where they are processed. Donald Hume, Port aux Basques's mayor, (Donald Hume) "I do not condone violence, but I can understand their frustration."

Many residents are struggling to make ends meet. Janet Francis, 37, a fish-plant worker who has been laid off, told McNeil's that she and her two daughters would have starved during her months of unemployment if she had not got a moose steak in the winter. St. Francis: "You get sick of moose after eating it for five days straight. But at least it's not dead."



Johnson (left) and Francis: "You get sick of moose after eating it for five days."

Now, with little other work available, the victims of the latest layoffs are vocal. They say: "The government's mismanagement of the economy has made these huge cuts in jobs," charged Eric Wadsworth, 46, whose job as assistant administrator at the Port aux Basques hospital will be lost. "He [McNeil] is putting the budget before his family." Added Wadsworth, a veteran Port aux Basques representative for the United Food and Commercial Workers International Union, which represents local fish-plant workers: "After that report, a Liberal would have a hard time getting elected in this part of the province."

But the Liberal will not succumb. "He [McNeil] is putting the budget before his family," added Wadsworth, a veteran Port aux Basques representative for the United Food and Commercial Workers International Union, which represents local fish-plant workers: "After that report, a Liberal would have a hard time getting elected in this part of the province."

Although no other area of the country may be as badly off as southern Newfoundland, where unemployment is at 24.5 per cent, the plans of several other provincial governments to promote cutbacks provide over the next few weeks are bound to produce similar responses. New Brunswick's Liberal government, for one, has sent a team of 160 to a tour of the province to listen to taxpayers' suggestions in where that province can save through spending to reduce an operating deficit that is projected to reach \$27.3 million by the end of the current fiscal year on March 31. In Manitoba, the Conservative government is widely expected to announce in May as 1,500 layoffs when it tables its budget in April. Saskatchewan's Tory government has said that it may cut 400 jobs from the public service in that province. At the same time, although Alberta expects to bring down its deficit budget on April 4, the Conservative government's speech from the throne two weeks ago indicated that more cutbacks in public services are ahead.

Among the provincial administrations, only Ontario's New Democratic Party government, one operating with a renaissance-deflated \$2.5-billion deficit in the current fiscal year, and British Columbia's embattled Social Credit regime appear committed to avoid repeating the recession's impact with major austerity measures in the months ahead. Elsewhere, at least some of the heavy weather hitting the Port aux Basques economy may soon be felt in much of the rest of the country.

JOHN DEWITT is Port aux Basques with JENNIFER HANSEN and in St. John's, ANN WADSWORTH is Calgary and unemployment reporter.

THE ROAD TO ATLANTIC UNITY

It will be the largest cabinet meeting ever held in the Maritime. Sometime within the next three months, say 20 New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island cabinet members will assemble for an unprecedented session in Moncton, N.B. Their task, in fact, will be to begin a stronger economic link among the three provinces in the first step towards creating a regional compact. The idea is not new. In last week's Maritime provinces was the annual review for the Charlottetown Conference of 1984, which laid the foundation with Upper and Lower Canada three years later. But the growing threat of Quebec's separatism and a chronically unemployed Maritime economy are leading a new sense of urgency to the upcoming talks in Moncton. "The initiative will bring con-

crete results," said New Brunswick Premier Frank McKenna. "The public is strongly behind it at this time in our history."

The latest push for regional stability began last fall, when McKenna called for a regional summit similar to the European model. McKenna's plan would initially apply to the Maritime. It would then be expanded to include Newfoundland. It calls on the provinces to reduce regional trade barriers and to work together on everything from government purchasing to road construction. And a majority of Atlantic residents appear to favor closer ties among their provinces. A poll released last December by St. John's, N.B.-based Omicron Research Ltd., for one, showed that 74 per cent of Maritime respondents, as well as 78 per cent of Newfoundlanders, supported regional economic union.

The drive for unity received an important boost last month when Donald Cameron, former premier of New Brunswick after winning the provincial Conservative party leadership. The late his predecessor, John Buchanan, Camer-

son's former economic union. Donald Cameron, "If we're going to have a meeting between provinces, we'll be a first-time region for a long, long time." P.J. Premier Joseph Ghis is also a supporter of economic union. But Newfoundland's Premier Clyde Wells remains unconvinced. He says that the Atlantic region is not a region; he could only bring national unity. Added Wells: "To do so would mean Ontario and the West to do the same and lose the seeds of destruction of Canada."

Still, McKenna, who will take up the issue with Cameron and Ghis at a meeting in Woodstock, N.B., this week, said the same form of regional union is achievable. Said McKenna: "I am hopeful that when Premier Wells sees that we have had success, he will be more receptive." Many Maritimers, however, already agree that, with the right or better plan, it is within their grasp.

J. D. de Hailey

troops on their northern and southern flanks by two huge offensives, the Kurds moved westward to confront the Iraqi forces, which had been weakened by the removal of two crack armored brigades to defend Baghdad. In the fierce fighting that followed, the five Iraqi infantry divisions still in the region "just disintegrated or fled," said Selim Dincer, a Kurdish rebel spokesman. Meanwhile, local uprisings occurred in towns and villages across the region, with thousands of Iraqis, the pro-Baghdad Kurds militia, deserting as large numbers to the rebels.

As the Kurds celebrated their apparent victory, the Turkish and Iranian governments were clearly concerned that the upsurge in force might spread across their borders. The Turkish army, engaged in a war against the Kurdish minority, closed border-crossing points to seal off escape routes into the frontier region now held by the Pesh Merga. But in Ankara earlier this month, Jalil Talabani, leader of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan, promised Turkish officials that his umbrella movement did not intend to serve as a replacement state of present-day Iraq, or to inter-



Kurdish rebels concerned about the use of poison gas

vene on behalf of fellow Kurds inside Turkey. Meanwhile, in Washington, legislators turned their attention to increasing aid to the Kurds. American's pre-invasion diplomacy in the Iraq-Kuwait crisis. Drawing a seven-month public silence. April 1991, the 45-year-old U.S. foreign service officer who was ambassador to Baghdad when the crisis erupted last summer, appeared before the Senate foreign relations committee. Glaspie, born in Vancouver but a graduate of U.S. colleges, had been

faulted for allegedly giving Saddam Hussein the impression that the United States would not react strongly if he invaded Kuwait. An Iraqi transcript of a conversation that she had with Hussein one week before the invasion had quoted her as saying that Washington "had no opinion" on inter-Arab conflicts "like your border disagreement with Kuwait." Last week, however, Glaspie told the senators that the transcript had quoted her strong and repeated warnings to Hussein. She claimed that she had emphasized several times "that we would meet no settlements being made in a non-violent manner, not by threats, not by intimidation, and certainly not by aggression."

Members of the panel thanked her warmly. But the expatriation plots they did not study many U.S. lawmakers and independent analysts. They asked why the administration had waited until now to counter the impression that it had failed to give adequate warning to Hussein, and why the state department had described the Iraqi transcript at the time as "essentially accurate." It was one of the many questions lingering about the decisive military outcome of the winter war in the Gulf.

JOHN BIERMAN with CHRIS STEPHEN for *enquirer* Iraq and comprehensive reports

LEBANON

Hostage roulette

Fresh rumors raise hopes for the captives

For a while last week, it seemed almost like luck to grab business as usual in Beirut. Enting a three-month lull in which there had been no spectacular acts of violence, a car bomb killed eight people in the Lebanese capital. And a new flurry of familiar rumors (most named Hussein) broke for some, if not all, of the 12 Westerners believed to be held hostage by Hizbullah (Party of God), a militant Shiite Muslim group. As it happened, the war broke failed to kill its intended victims. Delonius Minister Michel al-Murr, and it was a surprise that was no sign of the hostages. Still, in the wake of the Persian Gulf War, conditions seemed more favorable for the hostages to go home. Syria and Iraq, the two nations with the most influence over Hizbullah, now have more reason to accommodate the West. And the Israelis, who held a key prisoner that Hizbullah wants in exchange, say that they are prepared to swap. But experts warned that a speedy resolution was unlikely. "We will see the game being again," said Martin Kramer, assistant director

of Tel Aviv University's David Centre for Middle East and African Studies.

Six of the hostages are Americans, including journalist Terry Anderson, 43, who began his seventh year of captivity on March 16, longer than any of the other hostages. There are British, two from Germany, and one from Iran. On March 30, the pro-Syrian Daily al-Azhar forecast that Anderson and his fellow Americans would be freed two days later, with the others coming out the next day. But the Islamic Jihad for the Liberation of Palestine, an offshoot of Hizbullah, offered to exchange only two American hostages for an unspecified number of Syrian held by Israel, including Sheikh Abdel Karim Ghannouchi, a Lebanese cleric whom the Israelis abducted 20 months ago.



Anderson: the long ordeal

The Israelis, who insist that any exchange must include one of their servicemen held by Lebanese fighters, reacted cautiously. "It might be a positive sign," said Defense Minister Moshe Arens. The Israelis had previously offered to exchange Ghannouchi and 300 Shiite prisoners for their missing soldiers and all of the Western hostages.

In the past, one major obstacle to a hostage release was the refusal of the Kuwaiti government to free 15 Shiites imprisoned for bombing the French and U.S. embassies in 1983. But because those prisoners escaped shortly after the Israeli withdrawal from Kuwait on Aug. 2, they are no longer a factor. In other ways as well, the Middle East appeared less closely charged than for the better. Saul Maron Rabbin, a Middle East specialist at Carleton University in Ottawa, "The Syrians and Israelis have decided that Americans are an implicit ally and may not be the greatest Syrian or Hizbullah enemies to the same conclusion, the refusal of Terry Anderson and his companions may end at last.

JOHN BIERMAN with CHRIS STEPHEN for *enquirer*, NEALY MCKENZIE in Washington and ARNOLD BLISS in Toronto

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BRITAIN

Killing Thatcherism

Major steps out of the Iron Lady's shadow

When the Tories were modestly dinged last November, Margaret Thatcher had at least one consolation: the man generally considered closest to her own conservative beliefs was chosen to succeed her. At the time, Britain's opposition politicians mocked John Major as a "Thatcher clone" set to continue his party's right-wing crusade. But last week, when Major's Conservative government took its first decisive policy steps yet, it was Thatcher's closest supporters who were most dismayed. The government first introduced a budget that peaked the highest earners, the opposite of Thatcher's approach. And two days later, it made an even more spectacular reversal by dropping her most hated legacy, the controversial poll tax. Said Ivor Creese, a political scientist at Essex University: "There's no doubt—Thatcherism has been killed."

The budget and poll tax changes were Major's most dramatic steps out of the shadow of his former boss. When they were elected last party leader and prime minister on Nov. 28, Major was one of the youngest and least known of Thatcher's ministers. But after four months in office, he has emerged as a confident leader in his own right.

For his decisive handling of Britain's role in the Persian Gulf War, and for his cool response to an Irish Republican Army mortar attack on February 10 in Downing Street, his official residence, Britons also warmed to his no-nonsense style and sense of responsibility. Major's government has been surprisingly toughly opposed to governing.

The change in style was dramatic enough, and was back much of the public support that the Conservatives, under Thatcher, had lost to the opposition Labour Party. But since early March, Major's government clearly has been appearing itself from the person administration in matters of substance, as well. First, Major went to Bonn on March 11 and struck a new tone in Britain's attitude towards the rest of Europe after years of feisty relations under Thatcher. He declared that Britain will be "at the very heart of Europe"—a deeply ambiguous word with the pro-European wing of his party. Back home party chairman Christopher Patten outlined the government's new political philosophy in a phrase that Thatcher radi-

average of \$340, and raised Britain's value-added tax, or sales tax, to pay for that cut.

That set the stage for the government's fiscal announcement two days later that the poll tax would be abolished. The tax, a per capita charge that in the same for all adult occupants of a given property, was one of Thatcher's pet projects. She argued that it would help to tame excessive expenditures by showing taxpayers how much money their local governments were spending. But opponents attacked the tax as unfair and inefficient, and Thatcher's refusal to budge on it came to epitomize what many Britons came to dislike about her uncompromising style. Last Thursday, Environment Secretary Michael Heseltine announced that the charge would be replaced by a new municipal levy combining elements of the poll tax with the old system of property taxes.

Ironically, a few hours before Heseltine announced the death of the poll tax, a group of Thatcherites had launched a new political movement, called Conservative Way Forward, dedicated to upholding Thatcher's political ideals. But the group's formation, and political scientist Creese, was a sign of their declining influence. He added: "The Thatcherites haven't yet realized just how quickly they have become marginalized in their own party."

Major's biggest task will be to translate his personal popularity into victory for his party in an election that he must hold by June, 1992. The biggest obstacle to a fourth consecutive Conservative win is the recession that is gripping Britain's economy, with falling output and inflation stuck at just under nine per cent. Some experts suggested that Major might sail as early as this June if his Tories, who are roughly even with Labour at about 40 per cent of the vote, could win a

surprise local election on May 2. But most analysts, including Robert Wauchope, chairman of Britain's most polling group, predicted that Major will wait until the economy is over "if they don't get the economy right, they won't win" and Worcester. And that, he said, means that Britons most likely will not pass judgment on the performance of their new prime minister until next spring.

ANDREW PHILLIPS
in London



London poll-tax protesters; Major (below) decides steps



Anti-Communist demonstrators in Belgrade, on the brink of disintegration

YUGOSLAVIA

Against all odds

A Serb may hold the key to the deadlock

Standing on the balcony of the National Theatre in the Yugoslav capital of Belgrade, Vuk Draskovic looked like a Russian czar. With his ragged beard and his dark eyes, the fiery opposition leader took on a wild, mystic look as he mounted a public challenge to Slobodan Milosevic, a former Communist who is president of Yugoslavia's Serbian republic. "It is time for you to go," shouted Draskovic. "It is time for the end of 44 years of Communist repression."

That speech, broadcast live on March 9 by an independent TV station, provoked massive street protests in which two people died—and which plunged the country into a constitutional crisis. Last week, amid widespread expressions of concern that the military would impose martial law, Yugoslavia's fractious collective presidency met with republican leaders in emergency sessions to try to pull the country back from the brink of disintegration and civil war.

At its meeting on March 21, the presidency, composed of representatives of Yugoslavia's six republics and two provinces, agreed that republican leaders should hold further talks over the next few weeks in an effort to defuse the crisis. But the meeting came close to being overruled because of deep divisions among the republics. The largest and traditionally dominant Serb republic advocated strong central rule, while the northwestern republics of Cro-

atia and Slovenia have threatened to secede from Yugoslavia unless they win greater autonomy. That conflict reached crisis proportions on March 18, when the presidency refused the Serbian-dominated military's request for emergency rule. The presidency's leader, Serbian representative Borisa Jovic, and two other members resigned in protest. Then, the Serbian legislature voted to remove the resignation of Jovic, a predominantly Albanian province within the Serbian republic, stripping the presidency of a quorum. The disintegration of federal rule was sealed only when the Serbian parliament rejected Jovic's resignation, restoring a quorum.

Ironically, although it was Draskovic who sparked the crisis, many observers now say that he may be the one politician who could prevent the breakup of the Yugoslav federation. The reason, he has understood the power of Milosevic, a strident Serb nationalist who, according to his critics, has been the key obstacle to negotiations among the republics. Milosevic's party changed its name from Communist to Socialist and swept republican elections last December but soon then, many Serbs have expressed increasing disillusionment, fearing that Milosevic's tactics will live up to his promises of political reform, media freedom and a swift economic recovery.

Draskovic, whose Movement for Serbian Renewal party won 17 per cent of the vote in

December, became a popular hero when he gave his first public speech on March 9. He emerged three days later as the leader of Serbia's first coherent opposition movement. "Draskovic's achievement," said one Western diplomat in Belgrade who requested anonymity, "has been to puncture the myth of Milosevic's power." He added, "Constitutionally, Milosevic is in a power for the next few years. The only way Milosevic can be brought down is from the streets." And the streets, accordingly, appear to belong to Draskovic.

For an outsider, Draskovic hardly seems a credible alternative to Milosevic. His Serb nationalist image appears even more shrill than Milosevic's, and, before he became a

politician, Draskovic wrote such novels as *Krivo*, about fascist forces menacing Serbia during the Second World War. His Socialist chambers, he said in a recent interview, "opening to life and called on me to go into politics" to safeguard Serbian interests.

Draskovic's personal views, however, appear more moderate. "The country," Draskovic told *National* last week, "can be saved through a dialogue and only a dialogue—and not with the intervention of the military." Upping all odds in the conflict to work together, he added. "The Serbs, Croats, Muslims, Jews—they all are so closely intertwined. There are too few thousands of armed war-machines just between Serbs and Croats. It seems to me that geography has condemned us to live together."

Despite his present popularity, Draskovic may yet face serious obstacles in his efforts to win the Serbian presidency. Some critics say that he lacks Milosevic's charisma; that Draskovic is often drunk or too on drugs. "I've talked to Milosevic," said Vesa Mijatovic, a 37-year-old Belgrade housewife. "Now, if given a vote for Draskovic, he'd still be drunk. It is not his talent, but his luck." Political observers, however, say that Draskovic has neither a drinking nor a drug problem, and Draskovic himself says that, if he wins the post, he would not remain Serbian president for long. "There is no such a politician that I have an opinion on," he says. "It comes to him in the evening and feel the need to fill the bottle with shots of booze and determine to decide myself from the drug game which alcohol is politics." Still, his willingness to play that political game appears to make him the single figure in Yugoslav politics who could force Milosevic to resign. That, in turn, could bring some hope that Yugoslavia's patchwork of ethnic groups might, against all odds, work out a formula for national unity.

LOUISE BRANSON in Belgrade

WHEN A NATION BREAKS APART

A VOTE FOR
SOVIET UNITY
FAILS TO QUENCH
A THIRST FOR
INDEPENDENCE

On the face of it, Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev achieved a substantial success last week as voters supported his call for a renewed Soviet Union. More than 136 million people participated in the first referendum in Soviet history. And in response to a tightly worded question, his official reckoning 77 per cent of those voters indicated that they wished to preserve the vast country that stretches from Europe to China. But the positive result may do little more than lift Gorbachev's morale as his campaign for national unity. Following his seventh year as Soviet leader, the 66-year-old Gorbachev presides over a polyglot empire that is in the throes of economic and political disintegration.

In fact, officials in such key Soviet republics as Ukraine and Russia could asked questions to the referendum ballots in order to vote local support for more autonomy. Six of the 15 republics abstained altogether. And at a time when Gorbachev has assumed some constitutional power that any previous Soviet leader has, he has become a capriciously isolated figure in his own land. "Gorbachev has become a president without a people," said Witold Kowalczyk, editor of the influential weekly magazine *Gazetka (Observer)*. "Now, he has only the army and the sea."

Salt. Certainly, the Soviet president's much-publicized shift to the right has made him the subject of intense scrutiny at home and abroad. Even people who have worked closely with him, among them economist Stanislav Shatalov, say that they do not know whether Gorbachev is anything more than a skilled pragmatist out to save the Communist system that profited him. Added Shatalov: "I do not even know if he is a socialist at heart." No matter what his real feelings, however, Gorbachev is plainly the central figure in a critical struggle for the soul—and the very survival—of the Soviet Union that belies the common, lower-levels political focus on allegedly pre-eminent roles in the battle between reform and retrenchment (page 30). Meanwhile, Western countries, which must accept as a wave at Gorbachev when the charismatic leader calls reform in recent years, have continued to cast doubt on his Soviet president's ability to bring about serious reformations about his conservative drift (page 28). And on the streets and in the apartments of Moscow, an intense debate is growing as ordinary people consider their future—and that of their nation (page 36).

Within the Soviet Union, Shatalov and other reformers are lost in the maze when Gorbachev shattered the illusion that he would free the beleaguered economy from ideological rule. It was then that he failed at engineering the Moscow economy's so-called 500-day program, which would have permitted greater ownership of land and industry, and decentralized central planning in favor of a free-enterprise economy. Gorbachev has assumed that he simply chose to make a more gradual transition to a market economy, one that would affect fewer



Barring referendum ballots in Tashkent, Moldova: a depressing crisis in some of the outposts and the major cities

hardships on the poor, the elderly and workers who would inevitably lose their jobs when inefficient state industries shut down. To that end, he added, recent price increases in state stores brought the price of consumer goods closer to the cost of producing them. And although bread tripled to 60 kopecks a loaf, or about \$1.26, the government has at least partially compensated workers, pensioners and other consumers with wage increases.

But: At the same time, some reformers said that they perceived another reason for Gorbachev's rejection of the 500-day program: it called for a shift of power to the republics that would leave the Soviet president as little more than a ceremonial leader with custody of the Kremlin. Said Moscow-based historian Leonid Vasiliev: "Gorbachev had every reason to be astounded by the program's central idea of enhancing the republics' power." Vasiliev added that by rejecting radical reforms, Gorbachev inevitably deepened the economic crisis. But at home, and Vasiliev, conservatives tried to blame the economic crisis on instability caused by the restructuring reforms of perestroika.

However, Gavril Popov and Anatoly Sobchak, the reformist mayors of Moscow and Leningrad, respectively, say that they have discovered that their power to bring about economic and social changes in the country's two largest cities is extremely limited. Said Popov: "The structure of local governments has not been set up for existing decrees. It has worked perfectly for what it was created to do act as a screen, denying the fact that the

pragmatic levers of power are firmly in the grasp of the Communist party." He added: "The reformers have swung into action as a bid to structure their control over society. In such a context, there is no chance of collapsing as a result of well-being in Moscow."

That blunt assessment captures a disillusionment among former Gorbachev supporters that has grown since January, when a Soviet military crackdown in the Baltic republics left 21 people dead in Lithuania and Latvia. There, Gorbachev's often-stated pledge to preserve an ethnically diverse union collided with resurgent nationalism. Separatist drives are also flourishing from Ukraine to republics in Central Asia, where a claim for greater autonomy is intertwined with a religious revival among the Soviet Union's 58 million Muslims.

From another perspective, Gorbachev is facing the consequences of not of the great failures of Soviet communism, its inability to bring a new citizenry out of the diverse ethnic, religious and language groups within the union. Under Vladimir Lenin and Josef Stalin, the first loyalty of the so-called *Komsomol* (Soviet youth) would be to the country as a whole and not to its national group. That Ukrainian and Georgian nationalists side any that such narrow nationalism as the Red Army and the security police imposed the ideal of Soviet citizenship as canonization, which allowed the Russian majority to continue its dominance over smaller national groups. And certainly, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania have not moved in their quest to regain their independence.

that they lost when the Red Army forcibly annexed the three Baltic states in 1940.

As the standstill persists between the Kremlin and its fractious republics, some Soviet scholars have noted that Canada is in a somewhat similar situation as it grapples with a separatist drive in Quebec and pressures for more autonomy in some western provinces. To be sure, analysts at Moscow's Institute of U.S.A. and Canada Studies stress their reluctance to draw strong parallels between the two countries. One similarity, according to analyst Constantin Baranovsky, is that Quebec and the Baltics are preoccupied by the threat of assimilation. As a result, he said, Canada and the Soviet Union face similar choices: a swift transfer of power from the centre in order to save the union, or continued confrontation that would inevitably lead to secession. The Soviet analysts also cite a crucial difference between the two federations: Canadian authorities, they say, are unlikely to use force to keep Quebec from seceding.

Orbit. But the chaotic crackdown in the Baltics and outbreaks of ethnic violence in the southeastern republics of Moldova, Georgia, Azerbaijan and Armenia are stark proofs of the Kremlin's inability to resolve its nationalist crisis. Gorbachev's response to such crises has been to abandon ever more sweeping powers to a compliant Soviet legislature, only to see many of his presidential decrees flouted by defiant republics.

And as the economic crisis deepens, despite his frequent exhortations to workers to forgo



Shopper confronting empty shelves in Leningrad—a tripping of bread prices

SEPARATIST DRIVES FLOURISH FROM UKRAINE TO CENTRAL ASIA

their allegiance to the state, Gorbachev's standing has declined markedly among Soviet citizens. Declared the liberal Moscow newspaper *Kavkaz* (Caucasus) "Does the architect of perestroika believe what people say about him as they stand in endless lines for daily bread? Sociological surveys testify that the president has lost people's trust. In the explosion of nationalist power, however, he seems to be incapable of understanding this."

First: As a result of such disaffection, Gorbachev is now treading one of the most treacherous of his incomplete involvements: such former allies as Russian republic President Boris Yeltsin say that the savior of glasnost and perestroika is blocking the road to progress. The scope and pace of urgently needed reforms require nothing less than Gorbachev's resignation, they add. Speaking to reporters outside a polling station in Moscow where he had just cast his ballot, Yeltsin noted the gap between himself and the Soviet president. Declared Yeltsin, "Gorbachev wants to preserve the system as a huge Communist bureaucracy that controls everything. With in the framework of that system, it will be impossible to make people's lives any better. Therefore, the old system must be dismantled."

If the Soviet leader shirks no signs of stepping down. Instead, he has campaigned hard for a new union treaty in which the Kremlin would retain most of its powers, as opposed to the loose confederation envisaged by Yeltsin. To that end, Gorbachev launched his referendum campaign in December with one clearly enunciated objective: a positive nationwide vote that would negate the republics towards the signing of a new treaty. But although he secured a formidable vote overall, agreement between the union and the republics is no closer. In fact, the governments of six independence-minded republics—the three Baltic states, Armenia, Georgia and Moldova—insisted no part of the referendum or a Kremlin-dominated federation.

In these republics, the end of the empire, Communist officials and Soviet military stations were forced to shut up makeshift polling stations in party headquarters and barracks. And in Moldova where local nationalists actively opposed the referendum, angry crowds beat Russian-speaking residents and set ballot boxes alight in the capital of Chişinău. In the spectacular heartland of the country, Ukrainian voters noted that they wouldn't vote the "no" but only as a revenge vote with easily accessible powers. And Yeltsin himself has had to face bitter power struggle with Gorbachev when Russian voters strongly endorsed the election of a republican president by direct popular ballot.

Wily, usually, the fight between the Soviet Union's two best-known politicians was far from equal. Although, as Russian president, Yeltsin spoke for an area holding three-quarters

of the nation's badlands and half its population of 387 million, Gorbachev and the central government held tight to the gold, diamonds, oil and other resources extracted from Russian soil. Gorbachev had the power, backed by the loyalty of the army and the KGB and Yeltsin had

grown national product this year. Paradoxically, says Western analysts, despite that the worsening economic situation may force Gorbachev to reconsider radical economic reforms as a desperate attempt to stave off social collapse. For one thing, wasteful oil-extraction methods, coupled with terrorist attacks in Azerbaijan, where much of the country's oilfield equipment is manufactured, have seriously affected petroleum production. The Soviet Union's chief source of hard-currency earnings, because Siberian oilfields are short of Azerbaijan equipment, production fell to about 11.4 million barrels per



Street buggers in Leningrad: a painful transition to a free-market economy

only the experienced satisfaction of tapping enormous oil-rich fields to the most popular jobs in the land.

Collapse: That popularity is based on factors that range from Yeltsin's strong support for private ownership of land to his openly condemnation of military force in Lithuania in January. And now, the 60-year-old Russian leader has announced he intends to remain in the loosely organized reform movement into a political party capable of challenging the Communist party that he quit last year. At the same time, the six-state, one-party Soviet Union has added himself with each nation where spreading strike threatens to shut down steel mills and other vital Soviet industries. About 300,000 of the nation's 1.3 million miners have struck over a contract that included a demand for a doubling of monthly wages of about 350 rubles, or \$170, and an endorsement of Yeltsin's demand for Gorbachev's resignation.

The crumbling economy will clearly make it difficult for the Kremlin to fulfill the masses' demands. Glorious official forecasts recently predicted an 11.6-per-cent drop in the Soviet

day last year from 12.5 billion rubles a day in 1993. And officials from the western Siberian region of Tyumen recently warned the Soviet president that the country might have to begin importing oil in the next few years.

Baltic and other Soviet lands have voiced concern over decades of rigid central control and their own nearly every aspect of Soviet life. Now, in the end of Eastern Europe from Communist tyranny and helped to end the Cold War. For his efforts, Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev won Western praise, accolades and even the 1990 Nobel Peace Prize. But in recent months, Gorbachev's image has lost some of its lustre. First, Foreign Minister Edward Shevardnadze resigned dramatically last December, warning of "catastrophes." Then, a Kremlin crackdown on the pro-independence Baltic republics in January prompted an international outcry. Now, some Western leaders are beginning to question active support of a man they once praised as a Soviet savior. And Stephen Cohen, director of Russian studies at Princeton University in New Jersey, it was Gorbachev

MALCOLM GRAY in Moscow



Gorbachev and Bush at 1990 Helsinki summit: a diplomatic balancing act

REASSESSING A REFORMER

WILL THE WEST STAY WITH GORBACHEV?

A t home, his policies of perestroika and glasnost grounded in reverse years decades of rigid central control and their own nearly every aspect of Soviet life. Now, in the end of Eastern Europe from Communist tyranny and helped to end the Cold War. For his efforts, Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev won Western praise, accolades and even the 1990 Nobel Peace Prize. But in recent months, Gorbachev's image has lost some of its lustre. First, Foreign Minister Edward Shevardnadze resigned dramatically last December, warning of "catastrophes." Then, a Kremlin crackdown on the pro-independence Baltic republics in January prompted an international outcry. Now, some Western leaders are beginning to question active support of a man they once praised as a Soviet savior. And Stephen Cohen, director of Russian studies at Princeton University in New Jersey, it was Gorbachev

one year ago and now it's Gorbachev."

Officially, the West continues to promote Gorbachev as the Soviet Union's best chance for stability and reform. But East-West relations have clearly become a diplomatic balancing act. In January, President George Bush and other Western leaders openly criticized the Soviet's use of force in Lithuania and Latvia. And so the end of the 1990 Nobel Peace Prize. But in recent months, Gorbachev's image has lost some of its lustre. First, Foreign Minister Edward Shevardnadze resigned dramatically last December, warning of "catastrophes." Then, a Kremlin crackdown on the pro-independence Baltic republics in January prompted an international outcry. Now, some Western leaders are beginning to question active support of a man they once praised as a Soviet savior. And Stephen Cohen, director of Russian studies at Princeton University in New Jersey, it was Gorbachev

inspired by the Royal Institute of International Affairs in London in favor of the proposition that "the time has come for the West to stop supporting President Gorbachev." Sir Bryan Cartledge, a former British ambassador to Moscow, called for the suspension of aid to the Soviets and denounced the claim that there is no credible alternative to Gorbachev. "We cannot support him, in effect telling the Soviet people who should lead them," said Cartledge. "It is time for the West to stop looking the other way of any particular Soviet leader." On the other hand, Paul Warrick, the chief U.S. negotiator at the Strategic Arms Reductions Treaty talks in the late 1990s, argued that the West should support Gorbachev out of self-interest. Referring to the demilitarization of the Warsaw Pact and the reunification of Germany, Warrick declared: "Our best interest lies with the man who has ended the East-West conflict."

Double: At the end of the debate, the audience of foreign press and other specialists and former and current politicians voted 55 to 45 in favor of continued support for Gorbachev, narrowing official Western attitudes. In February, European Community leaders Jacques Delors disclosed the introduction of a \$1.3-billion aid package to the Soviets—suspended because of the Baltic violence—on the grounds that Europe should not make Gorbachev's position any more difficult. And on a visit to Moscow in early March, British Prime Minister John Major echoed an earlier pronouncement by his predecessor, Margaret Thatcher, saying that Britain "can continue to do business with Mr. Gorbachev in a very satisfactory manner."

Ultimately, however, doubts about Gorbachev continue to surface. Looking before the House Foreign Affairs committee last week, Defense Secretary Richard Cheney predicted that "without a return to the course of reform," the Soviet Union would slide further towards social and economic chaos. In Ottawa, Mark Etzwardt, spokesman on a disarmament staff in the government was "quite disappointed" with the Soviet crackdown in the Baltics. "After the initial period of reform," he added, "we have now entered a more sober period."

The emergence of popular Russian President Boris Yeltsin, who advocates a new course of reform, has intensified the concerns of some Western leaders that the only alternative to Gorbachev is a return to rigid Communist rule. But some analysts continued arguing about Gorbachev for the armed forces. Princeton's Cohen maintained that "if the Soviet reformers began by Gorbachev in succession and different kind of leader eventually will be needed." But for now, Cohen added, "there is no permanent evidence that one has approached critical stage, or that his time has passed." For the moment, it seems, the West prefers to ride a troubled Gorbachev to the anniversary.

AMERICAN BALANCE with MICHAEL MACRODORIS in Washington. PHOTOPHILIPS in London and ARTHUR WILSON-SMITH in Grouse

THE WAR WITHIN THE CORRIDORS

ACTIVISTS ON TWO SIDES FIGHT FOR POWER

Ever since Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev introduced his policy of reform five years ago, a titanic battle has raged behind the walls of the Kremlin. Activists led by maverick Russian President Boris Yeltsin have waged a struggle to rid the Soviet empire of Communist rule. Conservatives have fought back with determination. And Gorbachev has tried to straddle the two camps, attempting to ease in, first, those who want to push the country back towards Stalinist-style domination from the top, and, more recently, those who would propel the country towards a Western-style free-enterprise democracy. The new alignment of contending forces has remained largely unknown to the West. Among the most prominent participants in the current debate:

Yuri Felshteyn: At 55, Felshteyn is the rising Communist hard-liner in the Soviet Union. Born into a peasant family in the southern Russian city of Kursk, he rose through the ranks of party apparatchiks. Once member of the Politburo, he was unanimously elected chairman of the Russian republic's Supreme Soviet, ed-

fectively the Russian presidency, a post that Yeltsin eventually won as the third ballot. A month later, Felshteyn rose for the post of first secretary of the Russian Communist party. That time he won, and he has used his position as a counterpoint to Yeltsin and other reformers in the Russian legislature. A champion wrestler during his service in the Soviet army, Felshteyn is notorious among those who frequently deliver fiery speeches devoted to hushing liberals and repeating what he says are pertinent, foreign-backed plots.

The liberals have elected a powerful Soviet rival: Boris Polozov. Known as Russia's party chieftain, he lived in Krasnodar, an southern Russian town. To date, the reformist Moscow city council has refused Polozov's petitions to register as a resident of the city—meaning that he is not entitled to a Moscow apartment. **Col. Nikolai Afanasi:** Dubbed the "black colonel" by reformers, Afanasi appears to relish his role as one of the dark forces behind Gorbachev's recent shift to the right. He is leader of the conservative Soviet Union Movement. Depicted in the Soviet parliament floor in Leningrad in 1990, Afanasi is also a senior military

officer in the Leningrad capital of Luga, and he openly supported the crackdown against pro-independence demonstrators in the Baltics, in which 21 people have been killed since the beginning of the year. "The army," he says, "has been pushed to the limit by nationalists."

An outspoken supporter of the military, Afanasi has said that the Soviet Union's Eastern Europe foreign minister, Col. Nikolai Petrovich, Afanasi openly attacked then-Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, who shaped Soviet policy towards Eastern Europe. When he resigned last December, Shevardnadze warned the nation of an "impending dictatorship." Shevardnadze has since gone on to establish his own foreign policy think-tank in Moscow. Afanasi also has threatened to call for Gorbachev's resignation if he fails to hold the army together.

Boris Gromov: A popular hard-line military leader, Gromov, 45, served three terms of duty in Afghanistan and was commander of the 120,000 Soviet soldiers there from 1984 to 1989. This was his official directive of fire of the Soviet Union, and he became famous for his widely publicized war across the Friendship Bridge as the last Soviet warrior to leave Afghanistan in February, 1989.

Last December, Gorbachev promoted Gromov from commander of the Kiev military district in Ukraine to deputy interior minister in charge of the police. Progressives maintained that his appointment, along with that of the new interior minister, Roman Babitsky, was an ominous sign of a growing right-wing crackdown. But Gromov's ascent was applauded by the largely drab and troops who regard him as a soldier's soldier. Gromov is also a military representative in the Supreme Soviet. Although he has kept a relatively low profile, Gromov has openly opposed suggestions by some republics, including Russia, to create their own militaries. Such action, he says, would be "disastrous" for the union. Last fall, amid rumors of a possible military coup, there was speculation that the army would replace Gorbachev with Gromov.

Sergei Stankevich: On the opposite end of the political spectrum, Stankevich's well-tailored, 36-year-old deputy mayor in the perfect foil to the pompous, professional Mayor Gennadiy Yegorov. Together, they have a formidable task in trying to lead and house a population of eight million. Since their election a year ago, the two have demonstrated good chemistry—but have achieved few results. Among Stankevich's reforms: they advocate closing a red market for housing and providing soup kitchens for the poor.

Born in Moscow into a military family, Stankevich is a historian and the author of numerous papers on foreign governments. He was

elected to the Soviet parliament in the country's first democratic elections last year and, along with Russian leader Yeltsin, he founded the reformist Democratic Russia bloc of people's deputies. But he swiftly became disillusioned. During last summer's dramatic Communist party congress, Stankevich joined Yeltsin and others in quiting the Communist

political system. But "The party's purpose, says Yeltsin, is to promote the 'third alternative' to Communist rule. But critics have accused Yeltsin of being a tough party disciplinarian who is too eager to expel anyone who does not submit to his leadership. Stankevich, a Ukrainian nationalist, Dech, 54, began his political life as a dissident in the

campus for Amnesty in their dispute over human rights. In America, Stankevich is a leading American for that republic. Stankevich's reputation for being too strict in the Supreme Soviet, although he criticizes the democratic movement claim that her support for the American cause was politically calculated only to win her entrance to parliament.

Since her election, Stankevich has been an outspoken advocate of a free market and a multiparty system. She has been named longest-serving member at the Soviet president. Last year, she accused Gorbachev of tacitly supporting the election of Yeltsin to Israel by being so quick to strongly against anti-Semitism.

Natalia Nadezhda: The president of the central Asian republic of Kazakhstan, Nursatbayev, 51, is a man in the political middle. A metallurgist by profession, he rose through Communist ranks to become the local party chief in mid-1989. And he came to national prominence as a member of the once-powerful Politburo. Last spring, he was elected to the republic's Supreme Soviet. Widely viewed as a progressive president, Nadezhda led the republic to declare its sovereignty last December, and has urged Gorbachev to disengage some of his central powers to the republic. Unlike the leaders of more reformist republics, however, Nursatbayev does not advocate secession from the Soviet Union. "We are the successors of the state's unity," he said recently. "But the powers of the center and the republic should be clearly delineated."

Nursatbayev is in the midst of a tug of war with Moscow over control of the republic's rich natural resources, including the uranium Tengiz fields. With the rest of the union leaders on the brink of economic collapse, Nursatbayev has undertaken extensive economic reforms. And he has secured the help of a number of blue-chip companies, including British Petroleum and American's Chevron Corp., in launch a number of joint ventures. He has signed an economic agreement with Russia, but pulled back from a once-close alliance with Yeltsin after the Russian leader called for Gorbachev's resignation last month. Last fall, there was widespread speculation that he would win the place part of the Supreme Soviet. But his accusations that the Kremlin was "totally bankrupt" of new ideas likely cost him the job.

MARY KROHMER with MICHAEL GRAY and ROSEMARY BOYLE in Moscow



Stankevich at the Congress of People's Deputies: calling for Gorbachev's resignation

party in a gesture of protest. Although he claims a parliamentary deputy, he turned to local politics, he said, "as the only hope for radical change." An opponent of Gorbachev, Stankevich accused the Soviet leader of a power grab when he created an executive presidency for himself. That move, according to Stankevich, "was part of the great totalitarian tradition in this country." Recently, Stankevich has called for Gorbachev's resignation.

Nikolai Trushin: A former bricklayer, Trushin rose from the Order of the Red Banner of Labor for being a hardworking Communist. He was elected to both the Russian and the federal parliaments, but quit the Communist party, calling it "a neo-peoples' front." At its founding congress last December, the Democratic Party of Russia elected 44-year-old Trushin as its chairman. The Democratic party, which sprang from such loosely organized groups as the Democratic Russia bloc in the Soviet parliament, is the first and largest opposition to officially declare itself an opposition party.

Although he is an advocate of economic reform, Trushin says that "we need to change

1990s. He is one chairman of the Movement, Ukraine's pro-independence group. A poet, he is also chairman of the Kiev chapter of the Writers Union. Rich, who was barely two months old when elections were held in Ukraine in March, 1990, captured more than two quarters of the seats in the republic's Supreme Soviet. The organization now claims the support of more than half of the republic's population of 52 million.

Rich has the strong support of the Ukrainian Students' Movement. The students' 16-day strike last October led to the resignation of the republic's pro-Moscow prime minister. Rich runs for an independent Ukraine, with strong economic links to other sovereign republics. "No matter how much bread and vegetables energy and raw materials," says Rich, "it is not going to be any better unless Ukraine gets rid of its status as a union republic."

Galina Narvayeva: One of the most influential women in Soviet politics, Narvayeva is a leader of the reformist Interregional Group in the Supreme Soviet. She is also a member of Yeltsin's group of close advisers. She actively

Afanasi: the "black colonel" is an outspoken military supporter



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39,000 kilometers, the manifold
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did the engineers.

WAITING FOR A RECOVERY

Three long and often frustrating last weeks left weeks as Steven Fletcher and Carol Park finally achieved their goal. In June, the Vancouver couple will take possession of their first house, a detached two-bedroom bungalow in the city's east end for which they paid \$198,800. "A year ago I thought, 'We'll never get a house,'" said Park, 27, adding that the recent decline in real estate prices and interest rates had put their dream within reach. While both Park, a biomedical engineer at Vancouver General Hospital, and Fletcher, a chemical engineer for forestry giant MacMillan Bloedel Ltd., say that they feel confident about their economic prospects, they add that they are unlikely to spend much money furnishing their new home. "We own enough money as it is," says Park. "Rather than going further into debt to buy stuff for the house, we'll make do with what we have."

With the recession now a year old, many other Canadians are taking a similarly cautious approach to their personal finances. And although real estate sales have picked up recently in Vancouver, Toronto and several other cities, few economists see that as a sign that the long-awaited economic recovery has begun. Philip Cross, the chief of

THE COUNTRY'S ECONOMIC HEALTH IS UNLIKELY TO IMPROVE BEFORE THE MIDDLE OF THE YEAR

that they expect consumer spending, the traditional barometer of economic fundamentals, to remain soft this year and next, dampening the prospects for a strong recovery.

Rather than planning for new growth, many large companies appear grimly determined to maintain cutting costs. Canada's leading import wholesaler, Hamilton-based Sobeys Inc., last week suspended its annual dividends to shareholders for the first time since 1916—a move that will save it \$20.5 million. The money-saving company has already slashed



Steel's steelworks in Hamilton: grimly determined to cutback cutting costs

about 500 non-union employees from its 6,500-strong payroll since last August. For its part, General Motors of Canada Ltd. announced plans to shut temporarily its St.-Théophile, Que., assembly plant on July 16 and lay off 1,800 workers, a GM spokesman said that the plant would likely remain shut for up to six years. The Canadian division of GM is also planning to cut 900 white-collar positions, about 15 per cent of its two-union workforce, over the next three years. As well, the Hamilton division of aircraft manufacturer Boeing of Canada Ltd. said that it would be laying off another 130 employees on April 18, bringing to 418 the number of workers laid off since January.

In yet another indication of the financial problems in Canada's businesses, Montreal-based Dominion Bond Rating Service Ltd. as-

sessed last week that it was reviewing the credit ratings of four companies as Prime and Edward Brodeur's new corporate empire Robert's Resources, senior vice-president of corporate development for Borealis Ltd., one of the companies affected by the decision and that the credit agency's announcement "was not unexpected, considering the severity of the recession."

In the past, Canadians have tended to look to their governments for help in priming the economic pump during periods of slow or no economic growth. But the prevailing mood of austerity has recently spread to the public sector, as well. In his Feb. 26 budget, Finance Minister Michael Wilson reduced the level of transfer payments to the provinces while announcing a new spending program to stimulate the economy. Wilson also capped pay increases for 215,000 federal public servants at three per cent a year for the next three years. In addition, Ottawa plans to trim as many as 6,000 public servants from its payroll this year. Last week, Quebec followed suit by lowering the incomes of 450,000 public employees including doctors, teachers and judges. In January, Saskatchewan announced that it would slash 600 jobs from the government payroll and limit civil-service salary increases to four per cent. And Newfoundland's government plans to cut 2,500 public-sector jobs—eight per cent of the total.

Those measures may well drive the economy deeper into recession. Even so, some economists and most business leaders applaud the cutsback on the grounds that the alternative would lead to an increase in the country's \$381-billion national debt, which they say is the biggest threat to Canada's long-term prosperity. In the 1991-1992 fiscal year, Ottawa will

spend an estimated \$43 billion to service that debt, an expense that helps to keep taxes high and raises the cost of borrowing for Canadian businesses. Declared Justin Maxwell, chairman of the Economic Council of Canada, "That burden will surely hold us back."

For Canadians on the unemployment rolls—more than 1.4 million in February—the clearest sign of the recession's impact is the scarcity of work and the prospect of a partially slow growth in job opportunities. Almost 200,000 manufacturing jobs have disappeared over the past two years. In the past year alone, as 43,400 government positions have vanished while part-time jobs have grown by only 98,000. The search for work will likely grow even more frustrating in the months ahead. For those planning to take on new workers, most large companies—including the Big Three North American automakers, Canada's two major airlines and virtually all of the country's major oil and gas producers—are waiting how to get by with fewer employees, in part by relying on temporary workers who do tasks formerly done by workers.

At the same time, some analysts say that the downturn in Canada's manufacturing sector is so severe that it will be impossible to stage a quick recovery. According to Douglas Peters, chief economist for the Toronto-Dominion Bank, the country's total manufacturing output will be cut by 10 per cent by the end of 1992 and will remain below the level reached in January, 1989. Peters added that pre-recession unemployment levels of about 7.5 per cent of the labor force will be achievable for at least four or five years. "The end of this downturn will not mark the return of bigger times for the unemployed," Peters warned.

To a large extent, the prospects for recov-

Business Notes

LOWERING THE BARRIERS

Canada and the United States agreed to eliminate tariffs in a wide range of sectors, including agriculture and chemicals. The decision will affect about \$2 billion worth of annual trade. Under the 1984 Free Trade Agreement, most tariffs are to be phased out over a 16-year period. But the two countries decided to speed up the process in response to pressure from Canadian and U.S. companies.

THE RETURN OF A NATIVE

Flamboyant financier Christopher O'Dwyer is returning from London to Bay Street after paying \$30 million for 49.7 per cent of Lowrey's Ontario McClelland Inc., the publishing company for the Toronto Star. O'Dwyer first helped found the company in 1970. After leaving the firm in 1985, O'Dwyer, 58, said that he wanted to escape the "greedy, selfish world of corporate finance" in order to write and travel. O'Dwyer will become the company's chairman and chief executive.

A ROMAN SALE

Toronto-based Roman Corp. has sold its 26-per-cent stake in Laurus, Marlin Group Ltd. of Mississauga, Ont., one of the world's largest packaging and printing companies, to Steelcase Co. Ltd. of Grand Rapids, Mich. Roman's Laurus said that the company will use the \$77-million sale proceeds to pay down its \$34-million long-term debt. Roman Corp. has suffered financial problems recently because of heavy losses by two of its subsidiaries, Stawell's Traders Ltd. and Doreau & Moore Ltd. Meanwhile, Doreau said that it may close its business in Elliot Lake, Ont. It is likely to agree to a new contract to supply asbestos to Ontario Hydro.

152 PRESIDENTIAL

The president and chief executive of the Toronto Stock Exchange, Francis Buey, suffered a heart attack while attending a management conference in Florida. A 191-card member of the club, Buey, 52, was expected to return to work "as soon as his health permits."

THE NEW NEWS

The New York Daily News announced publication of a new series, "Behind the Scenes," by Robert Maxwell, editor of the five-month strike. The dispute ended after the newspaper's owners agreed to cut wages and job cuts. Maxwell demanded before agreeing to take over the paper from the Tribune Co. of Chicago. "The end of this downturn will not mark the return of bigger times for the unemployed," Peters warned.



any depend on lower interest rates. Since last fall, the Bank of Canada has raised its three-month bank rate by about three percentage points, to 9.54 per cent last week. That has resulted in lower borrowing and consumer lending rates, and made it easier for businesses to borrow at shorter rates than the drop in North American interest rates was a primary reason for the surge in activity on major stock markets earlier this year.

But that early upturn has begun to falter. On Friday, the TSE composite index closed at 3427, down 114 points from its 1993 peak on March 6. Analysts say that investors are worried because of a recent report on U.S. inflation. Excluding food and energy, prices in the U.S. rose 6.7 per cent in February—a figure that will likely convince the U.S. Federal Reserve Board to maintain interest rates at or near current levels. In Canada, meanwhile, economists welcomed the drop in the inflation rate, reported last week, to 5.2 per cent in February from 6.1 per cent in January, but cautioned that it would not be enough to revive interest rates substantially.

Retirees, already hit by a prolonged slump in sales, are particularly pessimistic about Canada's treasury prospects. Stan Price, vice-president of the Bital Council

of Canada, "Consumers will be cautious coming out of the recession. There's a healthy fear of inflation out there." Moreover, many experts say that the growing aging of Canada's population will have a significant impact on consumer spending throughout the 1990s. During the previous two decades, spending rose rapidly as millions of the baby boom generation entered the workforce, purchased homes and moved to acquire cars, appliances and other big-ticket items. But according to John Clark, senior economist of the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce, most baby boomers have already satisfied a large portion of their needs. As a result, he said, demand for such items as high-fashion clothing and video cassette recorders is likely to fall over the next decade.

Another factor that will tend to dampen consumer spending is the high level of personal debt. In 1990, according to Statistics Canada, the average Canadian adult owed an interest-bearing mortgage, consumer loan and credit-card balance, equal to 77 per cent of his or her personal after-tax income. As a result, says Toronto economist and forecaster George Vanc, many consumers will be preoccupied in the early stages of the recovery with paying down their financial obligations. He added that they will continue to be discouraged from spending

by high levels of unemployment. "Consumer spending won't pick up significantly for another few years," Nair said.

But the impact of the current recession may be even more far-reaching than many Canadians put realize. Some economists say that unlike the experience of the 1980-1982 recession, many of the jobs lost during the current downturn may never return. (Overseas have no interest in the phenomenon as a demand situation—the greatest concern of Canada's industry is low because of relatively high interest rates, wages and taxes, which together have weakened the country's ability to compete in international markets.) Said Paul Burke, director of forecasting for the Conference Board of Canada, "The recession is much worse than people thought it would be, and the same can be whether we are slowly sinking into non-competitiveness." The Economic Council of Canada, however, contends that the past decade has left Canadians more outward-looking, and that a renewed spirit of entrepreneurship will help the country out of its economic isolation. Many of the 4 million Canadians who are out of work are hoping that the tide is right.

PATRICIA CHENHOLM AND **ALANNE WESS** in Toronto; **DETROIT MURPHY** in Detroit and **DAVE GEMSE** in Montreal

RIDING THE OIL ROLLER COASTER

Like many others, Calgary drilling executive Hank Swewart has spent much of the past year trying to cope with wild and unpredictable swings in world crude-oil prices. Now, he's back where he started—seriously watching the next gyrations.

A year ago, only about half of the 80 rigs owned by Swewart's company, Precision Drilling (1987) Ltd., were drilling for oil on any given day. At the time, prices for crude oil were falling on world markets. But after hitting a low of \$13.80 (U.S.) a barrel last June, oil prices rebounded—shotting up to \$40 a barrel last October—and a wave of panic buying triggered by Iraq's invasion of Kuwait.

That price escalation led to a increase in exploration activity. Last fall, as many as 25 of Precision's rigs were in operation at any one time. Unfortunately for Swewart and other oilmen, the high prices were short-lived. Even before the Gulf War was over, they had returned to previous levels and last week held steady at around \$20.

Swewart says that he is glad he resisted the temptation to overexpand. "Everybody was aware that what went up would come down," he says. In fact, many analysts predict that prices will fall well below \$20 a barrel in the coming months. North American and European oil companies are at near-record levels—many countries have



Swewart: "Everybody was aware that what went up would come down."

at least a three-month supply in storage. And even though a suspension of Kuwaiti and Iraqi oil exports in several months will cut the 33-member Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries still says that it expects to produce 22.5 million barrels a day in the second quarter of 1990, much of the spare capacity that oil producers were tapping to prevent prices from falling forecasts that the daily demand for oil at the same period will be only 22.5 million barrels. "The world seems scared as hell," says Douglas Rabinov, president of Calgary-based Eni Resources Canada Ltd.

Successful oil companies have to adjust to rapid fluctuations on world markets. They

pointed out that even after prices dropped following the Gulf War outbreak, most large Canadian oil producers used their world profits to pay down their debts, rather than investing heavily in new exploration. On the other hand, Swewart says that he and most other Alberta firms are still using their 1991 allocations on price forecasts ranging from \$18 to \$29.50 a barrel. If prices fall from \$18 to \$29.50 a barrel, he says, the oil industry and the more dependent Alberta economy may find that the next gyrations will be more than they can handle.

JOHN DALL with **JOHN MORSE** in Calgary

Patent missile launcher calls for an embargo on arms sales to the Middle East

Guns and profits

The Gulf War may spur weapons sales

For five days in November, the glittering Davos World Trade Centre will host just a trickle show with a difference. The International Armaments and Defence Exhibition, known as Dubai '91, will give the world's major arms manufacturers a chance to show off their star weapons in the region where they have just been battle tested for the first time. And despite growing calls to stop the flow of deadly hardware to the Gulf region, the arms industry is aggressively pursuing new sales.

More than 400 firms from 40 countries, including the makers of the high-tech missiles, warplanes and smart bombs that defined the war, are in attendance. "It's really taking off," says Virginia Karm, a London-based trade-show organizer who is helping to coordinate the arms exhibition.

Even though an official Gulf War ceasefire is in place, Saudi Arabia, Egypt and other Middle East countries are lining up to buy new weapons from the West. But that does not necessarily mean that sales manufacturers are about to surge large profits. On the contrary, most analysts say that the anticipated increase in weapons purchases at the region is unlikely to offset the larger drawdown in arms sales in the United States and Europe, where governments have been cutting back their defense spending as a result of budgetary pressures and the end of the Cold War. And for some arms makers, the

pressure of selling such a highly competitive and politically sensitive market in the Middle East may outweigh the benefits. Says Jerry Cantwell, a defense industry analyst with the nonsectarian Data Watcher Solutions in New York City, "The incremental business that they get will be very hard to figure—both economically and politically."

The political pressures are already clear. Dismayed by their countries' roles in arming Iraq during the 1980s, an increasing number of North American and European politicians are urging their governments to impose new restrictions on weapons sales to the Middle East. Germany, embarrassed by its role in the war, has called for a world summit to study ways of limiting the spread of weapons.

The U.S. government, however, has sent out conflicting signals. On March 13, the White House announced a \$20-billion in arms aid to the Saudi Arabia, but last week announced plans to sell a \$1.1 billion worth of military spare parts and engineering support. As well, the administration authorized the sale of a Patriot missile battery to Israel for \$400 mil-

lion. Bush has also asked Congress to authorize the U.S. Export-Import Bank to underwrite foreign military sales for the first time since the mid-1970s.

That decision followed intense lobbying by U.S. defense contractors, whose markets in the United States and Europe are steadily shrinking. In addition, Bush administration officials say that U.S. manufacturers are being ground by their competitors in such countries as France, which already offers export subsidies. "It's not a very nice picture for the industry anywhere," says Brian Lewis, director of Britain's Defense Manufacturers Association. "There is less demand at home and more competition for export markets."

Those reasons are enough to make life difficult for many arms producers—but they may also make it harder for governments to impose new limits on the international arms race. As noted experts note, there is the increased competition in foreign markets will encourage attempts to set up an international system to monitor sales in Third World countries. Says Paul Rogers, a military analyst at Britain's Bradford University, "The defense industry is hurting, so it will pressure governments not to exert too much control on exports."

Even at that, hardly competitive climate, some companies are sure to benefit from the performance of their weapons in the war against Iraq. Vickers PLC, a British arms manufacturer, saw its Challenger tanks perform well in desert conditions, a factor that should help the company in its campaign to persuade the British government to order a new Challenger model. In the United States, the big weapons supplier to include Raytheon Co., prime contractor for the Patriot system, Martin Marietta Aerospace, which manufactures the LAUSTAR night vision optics for F-15 and F-16 fighter planes. McDonough Douglas Corp., which makes the U.S. and General Dynamics Corp., manufacturer of the F-16 fighter and the U.S. army's main battle tank, the M1A1.

Other companies are also trying to cash in on their contributions to the war. One television commercial, currently being aired in the Washington area, features a group of warplanes assembling electronic systems that, according to the narrator, "make sense today." Only at the end of the commercial is the full name for the Granatnik Corp., which makes F-14 cornerstones fighter planes.

Previous conflicts have shown that immediate publicity for successful weapons offers a major factor in subsequent sales. After the 1982 Falklands war, in which Argentinean forces used a British-made Exocet missile to sink a British destroyer, other countries rushed to buy Exocets. It can become a question of whether U.S. and British weapons will gain a similar reputation at London's International Institute for Strategic Studies. Still, with the pressures that they face at the aftermath of the Cold War and the Gulf War, arms makers will see any edge that they can get.

ANDREW PHILLIPS in London with **REN JARRETT** in Washington



Sudbury's sunny renaissance

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

For most of the past eight months, it has been a one-story world, with the Gulf states dominating everything else. But the sun on Canadian politics remains in a state of barely appreciated inattention, and the economy is looking in bleak and depressing at Sudbourn's sun.

An unlikely exception to the gloom is the renaissance of Sudbury, near the armpit of Northern Ontario. In the renaissance of the early 1980s, the city nearly went under. "People were ready to roll up the sidewalks, close Sudbury down and forget it," recalls Frank Ross, whose firm now sits as general manager of the Sudbourn Regional Development Corp. "From the reaction to that crisis, the community reflected, and for the first time of the major players—mining, company executives, union heads and local political leaders—united, and out of that synthesis rose the diversification strategy that we are going off."

While local unemployment in 1992 was at a high of 18.7 per cent, it's now 14.7 per cent, much closer to the national average of 10.3 per cent. Other economic indicators are above the national average. Housing starts, for one, which last year dropped by 16 per cent as the country as a whole, went up in Sudbury to 1,466 from 1,264. Total Sudbury building permit value in 1990 jumped 60 per cent over the previous year to \$250 million.

A dramatic example of the city's change in attitude is that the development corporation's current elected president and chairman of the board is not one of the local businessmen who previously held the position, but Ron MacDonald, the environmental activist and representative of the United Steel Workers of America.

The strategy that saved the area called for massive diversification. The idea was to turn the steel-making town into a tourist destination, a regional technology and design hub, a research facility and to a medical research resource for Northern Ontario. Astonishingly, it all worked. The greatest tourist draw turned out

Once the armpit of Northern Ontario, the city's life is far from perfect now, but if it can revive itself, maybe the country will follow

to be the seven-year-old Science North, a \$10-million museum of popular technology housed with a semi-artistic and ecological. Children use its trading post to borrow a rock for a butterfly, and can play with machines that change the color of rainbows as you pass a model canoe. Last year, Science North had more than a quarter of a million visitors, and tourism in Sudbury is now a \$110-million-a-year industry.

In terms of economic renaissance, most of the action is currently in the Sudbourn Steel and Observing, a \$90-million industrial facility that will use heavy water to study subatomic particles created by human activity in the center of the sun. Another interesting experiment is the local steel mill's new green forest. The company's activities as much as 75,000 trees seedlings a year at a \$600,000 cost. The company's new forest, once they are grown through the life trees are planted where the company's new technology develops the landscape of vegetation. Sudbourn's woodworkers may soon stop carrying lunch buckets.

The most dramatic effect of the diversification has been the relative improvement in air, transportation—of moving operations. As recently as the mid-1970s, Inco, along with Falconbridge Ltd., accounted for nearly 30 per

cent of Sudbourn's employment, the percentage last year was 14.5, and it will drop further in 1995. The companies still employ 11,000 of the Sudbourn area's 153,000 residents, but the economy no longer fluctuates according to the world price of nickel. Although Inco and Falconbridge own other productive mines elsewhere, they're demonstrating their confidence in the miners Sudbury by allocating capital expenditures of about \$500 million for 1995. The doesn't include Inco's \$500-million pledge to contain 90 per cent of its sulphur dioxide emissions by 1994. (The company's stocks fell on enough sulphur dioxide to make it the largest nickel contributor to acid rain in North America.)

Taking the place of mining as Sudbourn's dominant industry is the public sector. Many new educational, health and Ontario and federal government facilities have been built here in the past half-decade, including a \$50-million provincial Museum and Minerals Research Centre, a \$10-million headquarters for the province's ministry of northern development and mines, and a \$25-million cancer treatment centre. Sudbourn has a good record as a medical centre—Dr. Paul Fink, a local surgeon, completed Canada's first successful same-sex surgery beyond this in 1988. (That to go on board on the place, Sudbourn also first to install parking meters back in 1980.)

Once described as "Canada's Pittsburgh without the steelworks," Sudbourn now has its own symphony, and the local business and professional sector's club has 180 members, the country's largest and most active. The most telling result of the city's renaissance is that in 1988 that figure was 100, for the first time a majority more people moved into, than moved out of, Sudbourn. It's not exactly a mark that not what was 1,711, but the city's business class that it's the beginning of a trend. "Sudbourn has turned around almost completely from what it was 20 years ago," insists Greg Miller, publisher of Sudbourn This Week and president of the Sudbourn and District Chamber of Commerce. "We're moving along with our diversification plan in that what the mining companies finally ran out of ore and close their shafts, the community will hardly notice it. That's the sort of future we're working towards."

Miller acknowledges that Sudbourn's greatest problem is trying to convert its reputation as the place where American astronauts came in 1971 to train for walking the lunar landscape. "There's something about what people say or think," he says. "All we can do is work from this and hope that they change their minds. If they don't, that won't be so bad either, because that's what we need as a green metropolitan, so long as we live around it. It's a well kept secret that Sudbourn is a pleasant place to live."

Miller himself lives in a ranch-style home in Ramsey Lake, seven minutes from his office. He says he is a white man with a white wife and a white child, and he says he is a white man, where his children first lived. He is from perfect, but if Sudbourn can revive itself, maybe the country will follow.

SEXES

The Kormos affair

A controversial politician loses his job

After Kormos says that he has often had trouble working with authority figures. In 1987, when he was 15, Kormos was elected president of the student council at Rutledge Secondary School in Wilket, Ont. But when the principal overruled a council decision, Kormos led a student protest that closed the school for three days. The principal expelled him. Last week Kormos tangled with yet another superior: Ontario Premier Bob Rae. On March 27, Rae fired Kormos after a series of embarrassing incidents that began when Kormos, poorly clothed, as a male on again in the *Toronto Star* newspaper. The dismissal was the first major controversy for Ontario's first New Democratic Party government, and generated heated debate between feminists and Kormos supporters about the duties and responsibilities of the premier and his ministers.

Rae had appointed the fast-talking Kormos, a lawyer who wears cowboy boots and drives a green 1990 Corvette sports car, to his original cabinet in October, 1990, along with a *Canada* record 11 women. For Ontario's New Democrats, his departure could delay or even jeopardize two of the party's major policy initiatives. As minister of financial institutions, Kormos was responsible for developing and implementing the government's proposed publicly owned auto-financing program. Kormos also was the minister of consumer and consumer relations, and was working on guidelines to eliminate racism in advertising, which he viewed as part of that government's goal to "promote equality." Although some observers argued that Rae overreacted by firing his minister, women's groups applauded the move. Said Judy Rich, president of the National Action Committee on the Status of Women: "We thought that anything to do with racism and sexism should be taken out of his hands."

Women's groups and female members of the NDP caucus decided that there had been a deliberate campaign to oust Kormos, but many were appalled to see the NDP minister as a "Nazi-like" figure. Kormos said he was fired by Rae's personal secretary and secretary-treasurer of the Ontario Federation of Labor. "I was offended by it and thought it was a stupid, irresponsible thing to do," Rich said. Kormos had publicly promised the public accountability of the party's policy page 3 photos of Kormos and his wife with a group of women. "One of the most important things as a Canadian newspaper," in his defense, Kormos said. "I am not Bobby Rhee. I started out as something done in a spirit of self-deprecation. I



Kormos in Toronto Sun pose: 'I am not Bobby Rhee'

gives my sense of humor doesn't travel well." The day before his picture appeared in the *Sun*, Kormos inadvertently added to his lowliness by telling reporters that the government intended to adopt stringent regulations aimed at eliminating racism from advertising. During a break in a cabinet meeting at Niagara Falls on March 5, Kormos said: "I hope we can set rules that will ensure that we're in wine, sports and beer advertising is eliminated." Kormos's last statement that at a private meeting shortly after the election, Kormos advised Genshagen's aide that the party wanted the

use of sexist images in beer advertising as a major irritant.

The timing of the minister's statements surprised and angered his leader, as well as the advertising industry. After he had fired Kormos, Rae told the Ontario legislature that the cabinet had not even discussed, let alone approved, guidelines for eliminating racist advertising. But Kormos, a representative of the Toronto-based Canadian Advertising Foundation, said that he had met with Kormos in early January for a discussion about advertising for alcoholic beverages. He added that racism was only one of several subjects discussed. Kormos said: "We were very simply taken by surprise by the announcement that we were going to bring a regulation."

In the wake of the controversy over the Sun photo and the advertisement campaign, the former minister also found that he had to defend himself against the criticism of uncalculated advertisements. Several reporters in Toronto began receiving unwanted white envelopes containing press clippings about Kormos and one of his aides, Michael Genshagen. The clippings reported that Kormos was convicted in 1983 for failing to file income tax returns for three consecutive years while he was attending university. Other clippings dealt with Genshagen's conviction in February, 1988, for assault causing bodily harm to his former common-law wife.

After television and newspaper reports about Genshagen's past appeared, women's groups strongly criticized Kormos's conviction. Genshagen, whose conviction was well-known within the party, including the premier's office, had been fired. "Someone who has been a woman in not only a woman's world, but in the world of advertising," the premier was on vacation in Ottawa when the controversy over Genshagen erupted.

But after he returned, Rae summoned Kormos to a 45 min. meeting on March 27, a Sunday, and asked him to resign. The following morning, Rae had appointed Marilyn Charley to replace Kormos as consumer affairs minister and named Bruce Chiswick to minister for financial institutions. Meanwhile, the colorful and often controversial Kormos had been shifted to the backbench, where he promised to be in the party's role, though he may become a thorn in the side of Ontario's rookie premier.

BY ARCY JENSEN

The LAPD video

Transcripts and tapes expose a brutal arrest

When cops, television cameras around the world feed into the shocking images on an earlier video and were debating the issue of police violence. The scenes that started the uproar lasted only two minutes, but they made an indelible impression. The central character is a young black man, stopped for speeding on March 3 in a Los Angeles suburb and shot by police with a 38,000-volt stun gun as he steps out of his car. Viewers saw three white, uniformed officers kick, punch and club Rodney King more than 50 times as 11 of their colleagues looked on. Then, last week, the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) released a tape recording of laughter over the police radio as an officer called for an ambulance to take King to a hospital, and computerized messages that portrayed police as laughing off the incident.

As stunned officials attempted to deal with the outrage, doctors were treating King for multiple skull fractures, nerve damage, a

crushed chestbone, a broken ankle and possible brain damage. And the scenes of racial brutality captured by gleefully snapping George Holliday, who was trying out a newly purchased video camera, had quick results: the LAPD suspended and laid charges of assault with a deadly weapon against four officers. The incident also brought disturbing charges that King's beating was just one example of increasingly violent and racist police behavior across the United States.

Outrage over the episode, and demands for the resignation of Police Chief Daryl Gates, grew last week. While 700 agents investigated the officer, the justice department in Washington announced that they would examine

racial and geographic patterns in the 15,000 complaints of police brutality filed with the federal government during the past six years.

Other evidence of brutality by American police officers surfaced last week. In New York City, five officers were charged with the February choking death of a hospitalized non-robbery suspect. In another New York incident, two officers face allegations that they beat a hospitalized teenager—who is deaf and who cannot speak—because he would not answer their questions. And in Memphis, a jury was deliberating the case of three

sheriff's deputies charged with beating and locking a drug suspect to death.

In Los Angeles, King's beating led to demands for reforms of the LAPD, while the city's mayor, Tom Bradley, himself a former police officer, backed protesters' demands for Gates's resignation. Said John Mark, president of the Los Angeles branch of the black civil rights organization the Urban League: "The department is out of control." But Gates insisted that the incident involving King was an isolated

one and refused to resign.

Critics of the LAPD said that although Holliday's videotape proved that police used excessive force, the computer messages showed



Gates: eager to resign

that brutality was accepted as almost normal on the force. In one exchange, the supervising officer at the scene ordered headquarters of a "legitimate use of force." Another officer typed out "Oop" in a message to a squad car that was out at the scene, adding "I haven't beaten anyone like this in a long time."

The chilling conversations fueled the demands for Gates's resignation. Since his appointment as head of the 3,800-member force in 1978, Gates has frequently caused controversy. On one occasion, he criticized Hispanic police officers for being "lazy." In the wake of King's beating, Gates extended civil rights advocates by offering a weak apology. Noting that King had a previous conviction for armed robbery, Gates said of the beating that "perhaps this will be the vehicle to move him down the road to a good life."

Meanwhile, the ugly incident in Los Angeles focused attention on claims that police officers often use unnecessary violence. Last year, the city of Los Angeles paid more than \$5 million in damages to victims of excessive force. Justice



King recovering after the beating: a stark example of brutality

officials say that their civil-rights division investigates 2,000 complaints of police brutality at any one time. That has led to only 45 convictions in the past three years. In Canada, the Ontario Office of the Public Complaints Commissioner handled 671 cases against the To-

ronto police in 1993, the most recent year for which figures are available. About 25 per cent of the complaints involved physical assault or excessive force. Twenty-three of the cases led to disciplinary action against the officer involved. Across the country, Canadian lodged almost 3,000 complaints against the year last year.

According to some experts on police work, police violence grows in situations where hostility exists between the police and minority groups. Said Stanley Steinbock, a magazine publisher who was recently appointed to the five-member police commission that oversees the LAPD: "When the community itself perceives the police as an enemy, then the police themselves become more trigger-happy." Now, the grim, videotaped record of Rodney King's encounter may serve as a catalyst for change on any officers who act as if they are above the law.

DAVID BRADBURY with ANNE GREGG
in Los Angeles

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FRUIT FLAVORED



The island's north shore; Gallant (below) land that should almost be saved

ENVIRONMENT

Trouble in Avonlea

An artist fights to save a scenic beach

The red beachside cliffs that greet television viewers each week on the tiny-golf *Island of Grown Gables*—popular, Road to Avonlea, and a touch of drama to the inside beauty of Prince Edward Island. More Gallant, a local artist, says that he has traveled to 97 countries, but he contends that the 100-acre stretch of land known as Grouse Shores, south of the northern shore of the island, is among his most cherished places. "When I stand on the cliffs, it feels like I'm looking out over the whole world," said Gallant. In June, 1990, he returned to the area after a winter in New Mexico to find surveyors' stakes around 90 acres of the roadstead shoreline. He says that he was horrified to discover that developers planned to subdivide the land to accommodate 140 cottages. Since then, the 46-year-old Gallant has launched a campaign, which has won widespread support on the island, to stop the development. Declared Gallant, "I have to fight it. They were about to destroy a piece of land that should almost be sacred."

His crusade against the planned subdivision has contributed to a nationwide conservation trend as throughout the scenic province. And last week, it prompted Premier Joseph Ghis's Liberal government to announce a moratorium of up to 18 months on most residential developments while the government develops a new land-use policy. The moratorium will also give Gallant and his supporters more time to raise

the money needed to buy back the land from developers. But Diane Griffin, executive director of the environmentalist group Island Nature Trust, said that the battle to save Grouse Shores is "far from over." She added, "This buys another day, but it's not a long-term solution."

The controversy over Grouse Shores had its origins in December, 1986, when Wallace MacLeod, a dairy farmer who lives on the family compound of Park Corner, applied for a government permit to build cottages on a section of his land on Grouse Shores. In June, 1989, the community and cultural affairs ministry approved MacLeod's plan, but environmentalists said that the decision should be reversed because, only a week after the December application, Ghis's government passed a law limiting cottage subdivisions to a maximum of 40 lots.

In October, 1988, MacLeod sold the seaside farmstead to Thela Ellis, a business-seller whose firm is known as a staunch supporter of Ghis's government, for \$159,000 and another of the shores in Ellis's new company. Ellis's firm subsequently began dividing the area into lots, selling it to its own 26,000 to 25,000 square feet. The lots would then be sold

advertisement in April for a full-page "Do you love Prince Edward Island?" After Gallant appeared on television, Community and Cultural Affairs Minister Lesley Bennett said she offered to buy the land back from Ellis for about \$508,000.

According to Ellis, the arrangement collapsed because the province's offer was too low. "At that price, it isn't for sale," said Ellis, adding that he was willing to drop his \$1.4-million asking price to \$850,000 for the government. For his part, MacLeod said that he never worked to block the subdivision. "It was for the government to turn back the clock on the proposal," he said. In February, Gallant launched a new drive to raise the extra \$250,000 needed to buy the land by selling "symbolic" \$25-per-square-foot plots. Although Gallant says that the nature of the campaign is not yet known, his campaign already has \$70,000 on hand from previous donations.

The government's moratorium was imposed after the report of a royal commission on island land use, released in October, predicted that the island's agricultural land—as well as its landscape—would continue to deteriorate under a government policy that the report described as "long-term neglect." Some conservationists applauded last week's decision by the government to impose a moratorium while it looked into ways of adopting private conservation for tough controls on development. Said Griffin, "Public opinion is turning around. We are realizing that towns don't come for dramatic coastline and can't exist unless they buy our own land." For his part, Gallant expressed hope that in a result of future changes in government land policy, Grouse Shores would not be marred by a sprawl of cottages.

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Diane Griffin with environmental reports



Diane Griffin with environmental reports

SPORTS

Say it ain't so, Bo

Bo Jackson's two-sport career may be over

Victor Edward Jackson is known simply as Bo to millions of North Americans as the result of endorsements of multimillion-dollar contracts that exploit his country of birth, baseball and football. And all the hype, Jackson has proven to be the promise article. Typically, like his, the Benetton, Ohio-based manufacturer of running shoes, launched an advertising campaign featuring Jackson during the February-June 1991 major league baseball season in Anaheim, Calif. Jackson, an outfielder with the Kansas City Royals of the American League, came to his right after NBC-TV the first of the season-known "Bo Jackson" commercials. He modeled a house number on the left-field wall—easily demonstrating his ability to leap and advertise alike. Indeed, when Jackson's doctors declared last week that his injuries he sustained in a Jan. 13 National Football League (NFL) game might permanently sideline the versatile star, Nike's stock price fell by nearly 95 to \$420 a share.

Despite reports of the injury officials of Jackson's football team, the Los Angeles Raiders, said that the club would honor as \$3.6-million 1991 contract to the star running back. The Raiders put Jackson, 26, on vacation after this season's playoffs. In the playoffs, and that he would not be able to play baseball during the 1991 season. That meant that another major-league team could acquire



Jackson at the plate, an uncertain future

Jackson for \$1, providing it is willing to honor his \$2.5-million 1991 contract. But he never claimed his bid at the deadline last Friday, Jackson became a free agent.

Jackson was born in Bensenville, Ill., and attended Auburn University in Auburn, Ala., on a football scholarship. He emerged as a star on the college's baseball and football seasons in the 1985 Heisman Trophy as the out-

standing player at U.S. college football. In 1985, Jackson signed a contract with the Royals and, in 1987, made a deal with the Raiders that allowed him to join the team a week before the baseball season ended. Last year, Jackson had his best season in baseball, hitting 272 with 26 home runs and 78 runs batted in. In football, he became the only running back in NFL history to run twice for touchdowns of longer than 80 yards. As his popularity grew, Jackson signed multimillion-dollar professional contracts with Nike, PepsiCo, AT&T and others from that together paid him an estimated \$4.6 million annually.

As a result of his injury, there were grave predictions that Jackson might never be able to compete as a professional athlete again. Orthopedic specialists said that Jackson's injury had stopped the vital flow of cartilage from his left hip, leaving him with a painful, non-weight-bearing joint. Dr. John Joyce said that as a result of the injury, the flow of blood to Jackson's left hipbone where it connects the hip had been reduced, causing a condition known as avascular necrosis, which has begun to destroy bone cells.

The report, Dr. James Andrews, an orthopedic surgeon at the Alabama Sports Medicine and Orthopedic Center in Birmingham, said after examining Jackson that though he had sustained a "significant injury," he might recover sufficiently to play

sports again. Jackson, who left the Birmingham sports center, had reported, "Don't count me out." Still, the medical prognosis suggested, at the very least, that one of the most renowned careers in American professional sports was unlikely ever to regain its former luster.

JAMES DEACON with environmental reports

RAZOR RUDDOCK'S BITTER DEFEAT

Before he stepped into the ring last week at the MGM Grand in Las Vegas in a fight with Tyson, Canadian heavyweight boxer Donkin [Razor] Ruddock and his handlers were warned. Their concern was not just about Tyson, the 24-year-old boxer, but also about the handlers of Jamaican-born Ruddock, 27, who lives in New York City. Also, the expressed concern was about the threat to control on development. Said Griffin, "Public opinion is turning around. We are realizing that towns don't come for dramatic coastline and can't exist unless they buy our own land." For his part, Gallant expressed hope that in a result of future changes in government land policy, Grouse Shores would not be marred by a sprawl of cottages.

Ruddock's supporters had complained about Steele a week earlier, when they disagreed with the referee's decision of boxing. They also objected because Steele works as a gas pump at a gas station owned by Stephen Steele, who also owns the Mirage and other hotels that will stage several fights this year in conjunction with promoter



Ruddock: controversy

Don King, who also represents Tyson. Still, the disputed decision might eventually rebound in Ruddock's benefit. After a scheduled rematch between the current world heavyweight champion, Evander Holyfield, and former champion George Foreman on April 29 in Atlantic City, N.J., Tyson is expected to take on the winner of the rematch. Steele works as a gas pump at a gas station owned by Stephen Steele, who also owns the Mirage and other hotels that will stage several fights this year in conjunction with promoter

as a result of the Canadian fighter's dogged performance in Las Vegas and the controversy surrounding the fight, Ruddock might be in for a harder time than Tyson—and a shot at the title.

J.D. with environmental reports

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PEOPLE

One woman's dynasty

Unlike her television characters, *Dynasty's* cunning and ruthless Alexis Carrington, Joan Collins says that she is happier than she has ever been. Collins, who starred in the popular prime-time soap-opera from 1981 until the show ended in 1989, said: "I'm more in control of my private life now. I'm doing what I want to do." Her



Collins 'doing what I want to do'

second popular-fiction novel, *Love & Deceit* (Holt), came out last month, and in June, Collins will reunite with her *Dynasty* co-stars to shoot a TV movie scheduled for the fall. Collins, 57, rejects media reports of a rivalry between her and her sister, best-selling popular-fiction novelist Jackie Collins. Unlike Alexis, said Collins, "I have no room for it—palimony and envy, for me, are a waste of time."

Out and about in Austria

Although debt-ridden Canadian tycoon Robert Campeau says that he is ill, a neighbor says that she has seen him jogging around the grounds of his palatial Austrian retreat. The Sudbury, Ont., native electrified the world in the

late 1980s with his acquisitions of Allied Stores Corp. and Federated Department Stores Inc. But now, Campeau, 66, is facing personal bankruptcy in Canada as well as massive debts in the United States. In January, Campeau's lawyers told American creditors that he was too sick

Campeau: 'very apologetic'



Trudeaumania

Looking tanned and erudite, former prime minister Pierre Trudeau was honored by fame as he opened the Bora Lasker Law Library at the University of Toronto last week. In town for a mass speech and the ribbon-cutting ceremony, and in receipt of an honorary degree, Trudeau, 71, clearly enjoyed the adulation. Toronto artist Charles Pachter managed to speak to Trudeau and show him Polaroid photos of a portrait that he had painted. Said Pachter: "He looks even better in person. But he said he liked it."

Trudeau, enjoying the adulation

BAD BOY MAKES GOOD MONEY

Last week was a thriller for Michael Jackson. He died with Madonna, and registered the biggest performance contract ever. Jackson stands to make more than \$1 billion under the terms of the contract with Sony Music. Some industry analysts say that Jackson, who has not released a record in four years—his last album, *Bad*, sold 25 million—is a risk. But Jackson's latest album is due in June, and his dinner with the Material Girl has increased speculation that they are planning a collaboration. An auspicious start of profits.

Embracing life

Although Oklahoma-born country singer Reba McEntire lost her marriage and seven band members in a plane crash on March 30, she goes on. McEntire, who had planned to take a brief sabbatical to her Rusty Rhyme Band concert, will go ahead with a country-Canadian tour that begins in Montreal, N.B., in two weeks. And as a tribute to her friends, McEntire, 36, said that she planned to go ahead with her scheduled March 28-Guelph performance of the animated song 'I'm Cheekin' Out. McEntire has made no public comment. Said a spokesman: "She can't put it into words."



McEntire: singing a tribute



to answer questions. Only days before, the neighbor, who asked to remain nameless, reported the jogger in apparent full regalia on his St. Catharines estate. The neighbor told *Nucleus*'s "He's very sporty. I think he jogs every day." Added an acquaintance: "The physical condition wasn't bad, but his psychic state wasn't too good."

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MUSIC

Rock 'n' roll loyalists

A Canadian group may be the Great Rock Hope

Rock 'n' roll is fast becoming an endangered species. Until recently the dominant form of popular music, it has rapidly lost ground to rap and dance-oriented styles. Still, there are holdouts. And in Canada, one band that is vying for the title of Great Rock Hope is The Tragically Hip, which last month won the Juno Award for entertainer of the year. Formed in Kingston, Ont., in 1983 by Queens University students Gordian Downes, Bobby Baker and Gord Snider, the group quickly established itself as a dynamic live act that dispensed with musical trends in favor of genuine, unadorned rock 'n' roll. Its 1988 debut album, *Up to Me*, was a bold statement of musical intent: bluesy rock with quirky lyrics sung in Downes's raw tenor. The follow-up, *Road Apples*, released last month, is an impressive effort that should win converts to The Tragically Hip's rock 'n' roll cause.



The Tragically Hip ready to do battle with passionate songs

To record *Up to Me*, the band travelled to Memphis, Tenn., home of the blues and of Elvis

Presley. Memphis rubbed off on the recording, giving it a raunchy southern feel. For *Road Apples*, Downes led the group—guitarists Baker and Snider, bassist Snider and drummer Johnny Ray—close another failed wedding U.S. sign New Orleans. But they continued to work with Los Angeles-based producer Don Smith, who handled their debut album and is best known for his work with Tim Perry and Sarah Richards.

The new release is at once intimate and intense. The songs, especially *Little Boxes* and

Cordelia, have an edgy, slightly crazed quality, as if a quiet stroll through the city's colorful French Quarter turned suddenly ugly and threatening.

But not all the compositions on *Road Apples* are as cryptic. *Down in the White*, with its buzzing guitars, is a dancing indictment of the people who poured English-liquor in to town Ontario restaurants last year. And *Three Fists*, a full-blown rock number, compares up Canadian painter Tom Thomson, who died on a canoe trip in 1917. With style and content drawn from both sides of the Canada-U.S. border, The Tragically Hip stand ready to do battle on behalf of rock 'n' roll.

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THE WELL-INFORMED CHOICE

Medicine's lower rung

Canadian nurses object to their low status

**WHO CARES? THE CRISIS
IN CANADIAN NURSING**
By Sarah Jane Gross
(McGraw-Hill & Stewart, 285 pages, \$19.95)

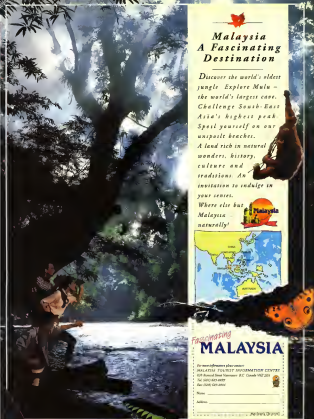
When Toronto journalist Sarah Jewett wrote out more than two years ago to take the pulse of Canada's nursing community, the profession was clearly in poor health. Alberta nurses had walked out of the province's 134 hospitals in 2008 to show disgust with their working conditions. Across the country, an apparent shortage of nurses was forcing hospitals to close wards. In *Who Cares? The Crisis in Canadian Nursing*, Jewett writes that after years of low pay and stress, the country's 240,000 nurses "roasted there were at the bottom of the totem pole."

In a countrywide examination of the profession, Graue notes a history of poor patient care conditions that she says have caused a state of emergency in nursing. The chief offenders, she writes, include budget-conscious administrators, as well as insensitive doctors, who treat nurses as servants while in many cases earning about five times the average salary for a nurse, which is roughly \$28,000 a year.

But Grows concentrates less on identifying the realities of men's than on telling their stories. And her book derives much of its interest from an abundance of vivid anecdotes. In rural Newfoundland, a young vetral battles to do the job of three people during a 12-hour Saturday shift. A Vancouver man enters the profession at his late 30s, only to feel discrimination, high stress and lower pay than in his previous job in a school.

To Gross, nurses are the victims of a system that disregards their importance. She claims that since Florence Nightingale established nursing as a profession in 1860, nurses have steadily lost control over basic decision-making while doctors have asserted greater political control over medicine. But nurses continue to play a crucial role in the health field. And as the number of elderly Americans increases, so too will the need for nurses to provide chronic or home-based care and health education. While exposing the problems of the profession, Gross's accurate book suggests that the symptoms of the nursing crisis will increasingly be felt by all.

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Wellness (left), Watson arriving with a surprise package of program changes

BROADCASTING

Justifying the cuts

The CBC presents its strategy to the CRTC

Last week, CBC president Gilles Wellness had a phalanx of his senior executives stand into the waiting eyes of wired regulators at the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission in Hull, Que. The CBC had ordered Wellness and others to appear at the six-day hearing, ending this week, to defend the CBC's Dec. 9 decision to eliminate 1,180 jobs because of a \$108-million budget shortfall. Corporation executives have maintained that the cuts, which closed down or gutted 11 local CBC TV stations, were a necessary response to the federal government's massive cuts to its budget over several years. Putting, or perhaps repeating, the probability of more Treasury ministerial surgery, the CBCers noted arrived at the hearing with a barely sustained medical job programming budgets, financial troubles, public relations difficulties, and the latest wonder drug—evidence of national unity.

The confrontation marked a turn of high-stakes rhetoric and angry exchanges. The controversy began with an unexpected announcement on the first day of the hearings, March 18: CBC executives said that the English-language TV network would raise its Canadian content ratio to 91 per cent of prime-time programming from 86 per cent. That would be accomplished by introducing new, half-hour evening newsmagazine programs and by broadcasting a two-hour morning show, already on CBC's Newsweekend service, on the main network as well. CRTC commissioners sharply accused the CBC of announcing the plan without prior notification to deflect attention from the layoffs at hand—according to the Dec. 9 cuts.

Then, CBC chairman-designate Patrick Watson—who had drawn criticism for failing to challenge the federal cuts that prompted Dec. 9 layoffs—called together reporters on March 15 to link out at Prime Minister Brian Mulroney. Dismissing the national leader for misrepresenting a comment that Watson had made about CBC funding, Watson said: "Here he is, playing games with the people of Canada as a way that expenses a hefty load of costs for all those people who've lost jobs and all those communities that had services taken away from them, and even amongst the process that's going on in line in front of the CRTC." For his part, Wellness told Mulroney that the CBC hopes to avert further cuts from its current \$1.3-billion annual budget with a new strategy, saving itself by helping to save the country. Said the president: "Maybe we will help the country get out of this bailing that we always have to accommodate what's

different from our neighbors, rather than what we have in common."

But in the Hull hearings, the CBC's announcement of new initiatives—and a warning by Wellness that the CBC may face a further shortfall of more than \$50 million next year—failed to deflect criticism from representatives of the 16 communities that lost local coverage at CBC-owned stations Windsor, Ont., Mayaguez, Nfld., and others. Said the only local television news in his city saw revenues as from across the river—and the border—in Detroit. Earlier this month, the CBC refused a separate proposal from Windsor to add a half-hour daily newsmag to its new 10 p.m. newsmag. Complained Mulroney: "We were like the birds and grass at the altar and all of a sudden they called off the wedding."

Private broadcasters, for their part, raised a long-standing complaint that the CBC is using its unique status as a public network to harbor economic envy, the private sector's territory. Wellness told the CRTC that, in order to fulfil its mandated mandate, the CBC must be granted special considerations. Among those rights to continue collecting local advertising revenue—worth an estimated \$5 million a year—in communities where it has shut down or curtailed production, CRTC policy dictates that local service must be provided to sell local advertising. The CBC argues that its potential coverage will provide a "local reflection" that justifies its porting of local advertising revenue. Said Michael McCabe, president of the Canadian Association of Broadcasters, as an incentive: "With the CBC abandoning the local field, we are left to do the job, and the advertising money should remain in the community."

There were also realities that the CBC is attempting to acknowledge the CRTC. Indeed, several commissioners on the seven-member panel upgraded the corporation for its failure to notify the commission in advance of last December's cuts. They also accused the timing of CBC's surprise announcement of a layoff of network newsmagazine.

The anger displayed last week underlined concerns of industry officials that the CBC—facing license renewal next spring—is underestimating the CRTC, the agency designed to help the broadcasting industry improve service to the public. But critics also said that the battle the CRTC can do to discipline the CBC. The commission does not have the power to revoke or suspend a CBC license as it has with private broadcasters—it can only complain to the federal government. Nor can the commission order the CBC to make changes as it can with other networks. The CRTC can only order the CBC to make programmatic changes or rule that Ottawa must provide sufficient funding for the CBC to fulfil its mandate. In the face of power struggle among the CRTC, the government, and the public and private broadcasters, Canadian TV viewers can only hope that something satisfactory emerges for them.

R. KARE FULTON is in Ottawa with
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From flag-waving to dark frenzy

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

The wedding night is played and replayed night after night, day after day. How many millions, how many hundreds of millions thanks to cine, have now seen it? It's almost as sacred in the mind as the first cinematic scene of John Kennedy in the back of the convertible in *On the Beach* as headlines, more than a dozen white men in the dark uniforms of authority stand watching, some spectators, as their colleagues methodically beat and kick and stomp on overweight black men lying on the ground.

It is not, one sees night after night on the TV screen, as methodical at all. These are a frenzy, an excited fever to the clubbing inflicted by several of the Los Angeles policemen. There is, quite apparent, as actual joy in the vicious images of the clubs. These men are enjoying very much what they are doing.

A savage watches and aces. These are not natural actions of natural men. The actual-like lineup of the descending clubs suggests that other forces are at work here. The first sight, watching a white man clubbing a black man, brings these past weeks, wonders if there is a connection. The most powerful action on earth—surged and estranged and grandiose in the new evidence that it asked is what it used to be—has been almost childlike in its primitive least-least almost shocking all its Vietnam days.

Jagomo is a Kipling-like term, a word conjuring up Victorian days a word unfamiliar to anyone under the age of 30 in an embarrassing, watching, these past weeks, the word returned to canonize as the world's leader in the victory of the American flag. It is a pity. America is not Geronimo, is not Rome, granted, it isn't the paleo civility of France or of Britain. Still, one would wish less juvenile behavior, black-clubbing to observe.

Implicit in the paragon-gone-wild in the United States, after life, is the heroism of the Vietnam—advertised in American eyes in "The only way" the public has ever had, which doesn't happen to be true. That is structural. Vietnam scorched the American



and destroyed presidents. The current cartoon into Lebanon—and quiet return—did not help. Hearing up on helpless Gernade and France was not nothing-blessed sufficient.

The nation, to recover its self-respect, needs a famous victory. To create a famous victory, a famous lie had to be constructed. Saddam Hussein was suddenly a new "Hitler." We were told he had the fourth largest army on the globe. Tales of his insatiable capacity and his chemical weapons fuelled the war fever. George Bush, with his Churchillian gift for the language, promised that "he is going to get his ass kicked." Sam Suck's cartooned the legs.

We now are told, the citizens sent home, that military priorities reconvened the melting of the truth. There were never 500,000 Iraqi troops, cash-burdened by the engineer war with Iran, waiting in the desert. The presence of the "elite" Republican Guard was

perked up for propaganda purposes. The greatest serial bombardment in history? Saddam's Hussein's people saw corpses (not 50 per cent of the bombs were conventional) Second World War: most bombs and only one-quarter of them hit their targets. These "smart" bombs—those stars of the 30-second clips on the evening news—comprised only seven per cent of all the bombs dropped.

The supposed Iraqis force never took off, except to five to ten. The Saudis, however, daily criticized by Moscow, were armed and loaded wherever they landed.

Those failed underground bunkers that led the Iranian Iraq counterattack to come? As we hear, all were, they turned out to be fatal little rabbit warrens covered with wire mesh and camouflaged with, let's say, and steering concepts who preferably provided at being taken prisoner. How can you have a war when the other side refuses to fight? How can you exist in such a "vacuum"?

The United States, armed with a Vietnam angst, has colonized a victory Iraq's eyes even memorize the Waterloo, more significant than 50,000 men, more glorious than Saladin at Hattin. As the heavy guns to be pointed out, by leaving up on someone who wasn't there, a personality all evidence. Washington has ever gone in the war and only expander. The one-sided Russian—the satellite for the development of this Star Wars military race that was only too grateful for an actual tool without in the desert—has dashed into 25 Quebecs Germany and Japan—the "checkboxbook coalition" who were such economic giants yesterday. The same seems revealed, as world wars who were forced waiting when it got down to the short strokes.

No one recognizes the good guys, our eagles, coming up to subvert and to be greeted by surprise above all their mercy. One only wishes a bit more maturity, not so much warlike boasting, such evidence, such flag-waving, such hully-in-the-best-order dimension that one has to vent the heat of the crowing and gloating from the President extending through to the Senate and the subconscious.

This is not the way the one and only superpower left sitting on displays the maturity that anyone at that position requires. Excesses in wild chauvinism, from the White House on down, only breed increases in excitable minds that cannot handle all the excitement. A nation going out of control is the opposite of a healthy one. The "vacuum" assertions leads to adolescence—the dark uniform of authority—going out of control also.

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